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MONDAY SPORTS
MANSELL WINS TITLE
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UN Convoy Trapped After Taking Aid to Bosnian City

Mines Block Road Back After It Gets Through To Gorazde With Food

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The first UN relief convoy to reach Gorazde, besieged for four months, was blocked by land mines while trying to return here Sunday. United Nations officials said the Ukrainian drivers, protected by French armored vehicles, would have to spend another night trapped in eastern Bosnia.



A mother and son resting Sunday in a crowded Sarajevo hospital, which has daily been the target of mortar shells and rockets.

Artillery battles raged in and around Sarajevo overnight, Bosnia-Herzegovina reported, while Belgrade television described artillery and infantry fighting in a dozen towns of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Geneva, Sylvania Fos, spokeswoman of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said the Gorazde relief convoy was suffering "a few logistical problems." French experts in explosives were sent to help the eight-truck convoy, she added. But the convoy was successful, Miss Fos said, in delivering 46 tons of food to Gorazde, which has been under Serbian siege since April. More convoys will be sent this week to other cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, she said. The Serbs were said to have mined a bridge along the Gorazde-Sarajevo road. (AP, AFP) Stephen Engelberg of The New York Times reported from Zagreb, Croatia.

Behind Serbs' Camps, a Guiding Hand

By Stephen Engelberg and Chuck Sudetic
New York Times Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — The first images of emaciated men peering through barbed wire in Serbian detention centers in Bosnia-Herzegovina riveted the world's attention. The camps were only one of the instruments of terror, and by no means the most deadly, in the Serb arsenal of "ethnic cleansing" — a campaign to drive Muslims and Croats from large swaths of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbian efforts gathered momentum in mid-May, after Western aid workers and journalists were driven out of most of Bosnia by a series of lethal premeditated attacks. The "ethnic cleansing" operations were largely complete by early July, when aid workers returned to the area. The existence of the detention centers, and the possibility that massacres were taking place within them, was made known to Western governments and aid agencies at least a month before the first extensive press report on the subject appeared in the newspaper Newsday on Aug. 2. It was only after that report, and the first television broadcasts of scenes from the camps several days later that President George Bush announced he had ordered U.S. intelligence to use "every asset available" to investigate the camps. The interviews have shed little light on the assertions of the combatants themselves, which are wildly divergent. The Serbian forces who control 70 percent of the country say, for example, that they are holding no more than 3,000 prisoners in a handful of camps. Their Bosnian foes say that the number is 105,000 people in 94 locations. Bosnia estimates that 17,000 have perished in the camps. Refugee interviews, representing

Bush Denies Politics Is Leading Him to a Showdown With Iraq

WASHINGTON — President George Bush said Sunday that he would not be influenced by political pressures in forcing Iraq to comply with UN cease-fire terms and he denied that he was attempting to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad. He characterized reports of possible imminent action as "a clear breach of security." "I totally deny that we're trying to pick a fight for political purposes," said Mr. Bush, who was clearly angry at what he considered sensitive news leaks. He declined to say whether any U.S.-led strike at Iraq was imminent.

U.S. Officials Say Allies Want Confrontation Over Inspections

By Patrick E. Tyler
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — The United States and its allies have decided to move over the right to inspect Baghdad's most closely guarded ministry buildings, according to American officials familiar with administration planning. The plan could lead to renewed bombing in Baghdad in coming days and the evacuation of United Nations personnel in Iraq. Some U.S. government officials said the timing appeared calculated to give President George Bush a boost during the Republican National Convention, which begins Monday, and could damage the credibility of the UN, which is carrying out weapons inspections in the name of the 15-member Security Council. After a series of interagency meetings in Washington last week, and consultations with British, French and UN officials, Mr. Bush and his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, approved a plan on Thursday calling for UN inspectors now in Baghdad to demand access to the Ministry of Military Industrialization, government officials said. This ministry, which was not bombed during the Gulf War, supervised Iraq's once-secret program to develop weapons of mass destruction under the management of President Saddam Hussein's son-in-law, Lieutenant General Hussein Kamel Hassan. If Iraqi officials bar inspectors from the building, as they have threatened to do to protect Iraq's national security and sovereignty, U.S. carrier-based aircraft would bomb the building in short order, the officials said, in a demonstration of American resolve that would have an inescapable impact on the political gathering here. The action would not necessarily end there. After an attack on the Military Industrialization



A Call for Peace Now in Hungry Mozambique
A mother and son in northern Mozambique, part of a mass migration fleeing drought and civil war. In Maputo, President Joaquim Chissano urged rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance Movement to cease fighting now rather than wait until the truce signing date, Oct. 1. "I cannot understand the continued fighting after what we agreed in Rome," he said.

Republicans Worry They've Lost Flair

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Service

HOUSTON — When Republicans gathered in Detroit 12 years ago to nominate Ronald Reagan for president, they were a party on the move. Eloquent, optimistic, audacious, they gleefully heaped scorn on President Jimmy Carter, shamelessly stole Democratic symbols and began to talk about the possibility of a realignment in American politics. But on Monday, as the Republicans open their convention in Houston, the contrast with 1980 could not be more vivid. The party assembles to renominate President George Bush in an anxious mood. Mr. Bush has fallen farther faster in approval ratings (from 90 percent to 33 percent) than any president in modern history, while the Democrats bolted from their convention last month with unexpected unity and confidence. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, has a lead of 18 to 25 percentage points over the president. "The state of the party is not very good at this point in time," said Linda DeVall, a Republican poll taker. "There's a real sense of nervousness at all levels. The clear objective of this convention has to be a surge of energy and enthusiasm for the task at hand." Under the surface of the convention is a question that may not fully be answered until 1996: What kind of party will the Republicans become? There are plenty of competing visions: A return to pure Reaganism on economic and social issues; aggressive fiscal conservatism combined with more liberal views on social issues; more moderate economic policies and a mixed appeal on social issues; or some new hybrid for the 1990s. All of these viewpoints will have advocates in Houston, although the goal of the convention will be to point out differences with Democrats, not among themselves. With the Democrats running their most aggressive campaign in years, few Republicans underestimate the difficulty of the fight

The Remaking of the President, 1992

By Maureen Dowd
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — His sides sometimes see it around his eyes, a weariness that was not there before. The president who seemed to grow younger and bouncier during the first years of his administration has faced health problems and staff problems and political problems, and he has finally felt the weight of the office he once wore so lightly. When George Bush put his old Texas pal, James A. Baker 3d, in charge of the future last week, he recovered some of his gleam — at least momentarily. He laughingly defended himself to his spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, for wearing white socks to a press conference with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel. He returned to favorite rituals, poking fun at his straight man, Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, and trading spicy jokes with Mr. Baker. Yet when he came into a White House senior staff meeting to make the announcement that Mr. Baker would again be his political alter ego, Mr. Bush, 68, looked more somber than excited. The politician who hates handlers had stumbled so badly that he had to give himself up to handlers for another major resynthesizing job. He is, in many ways, right back where he was four years ago. He must give the speech of his life at the Republican convention. He must defend his choice of Dan Quayle as vice president. He must try to win over suspicious conservatives with the help of a prime-time blessing from Ronald Reagan. He had to plead with Mr. Baker, again, to rescue a chaotic campaign. And he has to begin explaining all over again who he is, what he stands for and where he wants to take the country. Now comes the test. Is the problem that the president has not been getting out an effective message, as loyalists maintain? Or is the problem the reality of his record, as Bill Clinton's strategists contend? His new masterminds will try to make the public forget the large chunks of the Bush presidency that were static, muddled and inconsistent. Instead, they will once again portray him as a man with iron principles, staunch ideology and a coherent framework for governing the country. Everyone knows it will not be easy. "George is kind of like Houdini at this point," said the president's brother Jonathan, an investment banker who has come to the

When Medical Technology Faces Surgery of Its Own

By Gina Kolata
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A few months ago, Dr. Steven Nissen, a cardiologist at the Cleveland Clinic Foundation, was called in to consult in the puzzling case of a 44-year-old woman. Her chest felt tight at times, but she did not have the pain that signals the clogged arteries of heart disease. Hospitalized several times for the discomfort, she was discharged each time when tests showed nothing wrong. Then Dr. Nissen had an idea: a new, little-used test called intravascular ultrasound that would let him see inside the woman's arteries. Like something out of the film "Fantastic Voyage," the test involves threading through the blood vessels a catheter with the equivalent of a movie camera at the tip. "We put the probe in there," he recalled, "and sure enough, there was soft cholesterol-laden plaque all up and down the artery," indicating serious clogging. The other doctors in the room, who had been ready to send the woman home with no treatment, were shocked. They prescribed two powerful cholesterol-lowering drugs and a strict low-fat diet to try to induce the plaque to regress. The hope is to prevent a disabling or fatal heart attack, keep the woman at work and eliminate enormous bills. Intravascular ultrasound "could be the most important change in the way we evaluate patients with coronary disease in the last 30 years," said Dr. Jeffrey Isner, chief of cardiovascular research at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Boston. Other cardiologists agree. They say it shows the inside of a patient's blood vessels with detail so fine, and images so pure, that the only thing comparable is to split open the blood vessels at autopsy and look at them. But development and use of the new device has languished, doctors and manufacturers say, falling victim to the nation's struggle to control medical costs. The bill for each intravascular ultrasound is expected to be several thousand dollars. Insurance companies are beginning to refuse to pay for such expensive tests and treatments unless it can be proved with clinical data that they are more effective for a particular class of patient than are the existing methods. And their costs must be justified, by improvement in the patient and also sometimes by elimination of the need for other costly treatments. The catch, cardiologists and manufacturers say, is that the only way to prove that intravascular ultrasound is clinically and cost effective is to use it a lot. And the only way that will happen is if insurers pay for it. Health experts say that the story of intravascular ultrasound illustrates a growing obstacle to the development of medical technology. For years, the country has relied on health insurance to pay for the diffusion of new technologies that saved or improved lives and, oh, by the way, turned a pretty profit for doctors, hospitals and medical-equipment manufacturers and the investors who financed them. What that source is cut off, there seems nowhere else to turn. The problem, many experts say, is that in the name of cost containment Americans may be slowing progress toward medical advances — even ones that might ultimately save on health costs by detecting disease at an early stage.

Kiosk

Price Wins PGA Championship
ST. LOUIS, Missouri (Reuters) — Nick Price of Zimbabwe won the Professional Golfers Association tournament Sunday for the first major title of his career. Price shot a one-under-par 70 in the final round for a three-stroke victory. Jim Gallagher, John Cook, Gene Sauer and Nick Faldo tied for second at 281. Gallagher and Cook both shot 71 on Sunday. Sauer had a 75 and Faldo closed with a rush at 67. Jeff Maggert played the last five holes four over par and fell back to 282 after a closing 74 that included 40 over the race number. Dan Forsman and lefty Russ Cochran, tied at 283, were the only others under par for the tournament. *Earlier article, Page 13*

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'Dream Team' Encore? NBA Chief's World Basketball Spin

Will there ever be another Dream Team like the U.S. basketball team in the Barcelona Olympics? Commissioner David Stern of the National Basketball Association discussed prospects for the sport with Barry James of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. The American basketball players were among the undisputed stars of the Barcelona Olympics. What are you going to do for an encore?

A. The winner was basketball. The reason that the International Basketball Federation, FIBA, invited us to the Olympics was to improve all teams and to elevate the status of the sport. And that was achieved.

And as basketball increases its popularity on a global basis elements of the sport will do better. More kids will play. More leagues around the world will do well. Olympic competition will be enhanced. The world championships will become another important event, I think ultimately rivaling the World Cup of soccer.

And so I think the encore is to continue to play the sport.

Q. But given your phenomenal success a lot of people do not understand your reluctance to move into Europe and other parts of the world. Is this a question of logistics or marketing strategy? Or do you think the NBA can only work in America?

A. None of the above. We think that the way to expand the sport overall is to

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be part of the international basketball community and to work within it. I do not think it is a friendly act to say that the manifest destiny of the NBA is to plant its franchise and flags elsewhere. Rather than focusing on growing the NBA pie, we think it would be more constructive to grow the entire basketball pie.

Q. What you are describing seems analogous to soccer organization.

A. That's correct. The concept that the best players in the world play in leagues,

but return to compete for their countries in international competitions such as the Olympics or the world championships, is a soccer model. Ultimately, the McDonald's Open, which we have every other year, will become the world championship of club competition.

Q. Leroy Walker, the likely head of the U.S. Olympic Committee for the Atlanta games, is saying there will never again be an all-professional U.S. team at the Olympics. Now if this came to pass would you want to risk the prestige of the NBA on a possibly watered-down team?

A. We have gotten where we are by avoiding the hypothetical and really working very hard to make things work. So I would like to leave 1996 alone.

By the way, the team that went to the Olympics was not sent by the NBA. It was sent by USA Basketball, which is our federation. [The Olympic committee chairman, Juan Antonio Samaranch said all there was to be said at his press conference in Barcelona. He thanked the United States for sending the strongest

team, because the Olympics are about the world's best playing each other.

Q. Do you think we will ever again see the likes of the Dream Team?

A. We will see great athletes and professionals participating. We may even see teams that are better. But the confluence of events that brought us the Dream Team — the fact that Larry Bird and Magic Johnson and Michael Jordan were able to take the court at the same time with such a gifted galaxy of stars — created a moment in time that is unlikely to be repeated.

Q. The team seemed greater than the sum of its parts. So what was the magic that made it work?

A. To some degree your question contains the answer. It was magic. But all the players prided themselves on being team players.

Q. I suppose the downside is that the players were sometimes accused of elitism and putting brand names first. Did that hurt you?

A. Let me think of a diplomatic re-

sponse. People were looking for some controversial things to write and the issues were overly magnified. Elite athletes have stayed out of the village for many Olympics. When our players went to the village as we said they would do, they were literally mobbed.

With respect to Nike and Reebok, both companies were always prepared to do what was right and our players always planned to wear the uniforms. It just got into some macho posturing which was properly resolved.

Q. Not everyone can watch NBA basketball on television. Do you have plans to expand coverage?

A. Well, somewhere close to 100 countries will see the NBA game of the week. But there is no sense in forcing the game on an audience which is not going to watch it. We are, however, going to continue to have an NBA presence on a global basis. We are continually working on the licensing of NBA products, the promotion of NBA on television, the handling of events like clinics, and the McDonald's Open.

John Sirica Dies, Watergate Judge

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — John J. Sirica, 88, the federal judge whose pursuit of the facts in the Watergate break-in ultimately brought down the presidency of Richard Nixon, died Friday of cardiac arrest at Georgetown University Medical Center.

After the case that made him the country's best-known judge, he retired on Sept. 28, 1986. His career had spanned 60 years, half as a lawyer and half as a judge.

Some found Judge Sirica an unlikely hero — a solid but plain-spoken scholar, a successful but not dazzling lawyer; a dabbler in Republican politics; a "hanging judge" in criminal cases; a man who wore dark blue blazers and gray slacks; a man who spoke in clichés.

For the first 68 years of his life, few outside of Washington knew his name. But Judge Sirica indisputably became a true American folk hero.

He was "the Watergate judge" who pressed for the names of those responsible for the June 17, 1972, burglary of the Democratic National Headquarters in Washington's Watergate complex, and thus helped crack open the cover-up.

He presided over the first trial of the Watergate burglars, repeatedly expressing his disbelief at the testimony and saying that the government should dig harder. When it was over, James W. McCord, one of the burglars, sent him a letter saying that perjury had been committed at the trial and that higher-ups were involved.

Judge Sirica ordered Mr. Nixon to turn over his tape recordings to the House Judiciary Committee, which was considering impeaching the president. He presided over the trial of chief Nixon aide.

Judge Sirica ordered that a grand jury's report on Mr. Nixon be sent to the House inquiry. He demanded loudly, angrily and repeatedly, through more than two years of trials and hearings, that he and the nation be told "the truth."

Civil libertarians and conservatives alike attacked some of Judge Sirica's methods — his questioning of witnesses, for instance, and his threats of heavy sentences to defendants who refused to cooperate with Watergate investigators. The two times that he ordered Mr. Nixon to turn over tapes — first for tapes of nine conversations, then for tapes of 64 — the U.S. Court of Appeals affirmed. The second time, the president took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which affirmed the judge's ruling. The president was subject to the orders of the high court.

Time magazine named Judge Sirica its man of the year for 1973. He was appointed to the federal bench by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1957; in 1971, by virtue of seniority, he became chief judge of his court and could thus assign himself cases. When the Watergate burglary case came to court, he exercised his option.

He later said he did so partly because he felt that if a Republican, handled the case fairly and effectively, there could be no question of political partisanship.

During Watergate, Judge Sirica often was stern and somewhat prosecution. But he was already known for sentencing defendants to long terms.

"A defendant is entitled to a fair trial, but they can't get a perfect trial," he remarked. "There's no such thing as a perfect trial."

John Joseph Sirica was born March 19, 1904, in Waterbury, Connecticut. His father, who had emigrated from a village near Naples in 1887, was a barber. His mother ran a grocery store. It was the judge later said "an uphill fight against poverty."

At 17, he enrolled in George Washington University Law School. He found, he said, "everything was over his head," and after a month, dropped out. He learned boxing at the local YMCA.

He enrolled in law school again, this time at Georgetown. He finished in 1926, took the bar exam and went to Miami to rejoin his family. But he came back to Washington and set up a law office.

From 1930 to 1934 he was an assistant U.S. attorney, but then he returned to private practice.

He became increasingly involved in politics — he gave speeches supporting local Republican candidates and eventually working in five national campaigns.

Then came a stint on a congressional committee staff, after which he joined the Washington firm of Hogan & Hartson, becoming its chief trial lawyer.

Viscountess Rothermere, 63, the socialite wife of Viscount Rothermere, chairman of the Daily Mail newspaper, died of undisclosed causes Wednesday in southern France.

Hope Yandell Hanes, 86, who bred and raced champion horses, died of multiple ailments Thursday in Millbrook, New York. She was also a patron of the New York Metropolitan Opera and was an amateur painter, sculptor and writer.

convention as a delegate from New York. "They've shackled him. They've locked the trunk. They've wrapped eight chains around the trunk and you think they have him in there for good. But he'll get out."

Despite Mr. Bush's odd passivity so far this year, his friends cling to their faith that he is at his most dangerous at just such moments, when he starts fighting with the ferocity of the timid schoolboy cornered by the class bully.

After eight years suited to President Reagan, Mr. Bush wanted to be himself. The result was an "in-box" presidency — taking problems as they came, offering a series of results rather than a consistent program with a clear philosophy.

Those close to him say that Mr. Bush has felt frustrated, angry and confused at the criticism he has

received from all sides in the last few months.

If many Americans are befuddled by his passivity on the domestic front, Mr. Bush is befuddled by what he sees as a fickle press and public, and the "screwy climate" in the country.

The last year has represented a rejection that is painful for a man who never took criticism easily and who, despite his protestations, that he pays no attention to polls, loved his high poll numbers.

Six months ago, he began telling friends that the race would be ugly and painful, and that he was not looking forward to it.

"He knew what was coming," recalled Senator Alan K. Simpson, Republican of Wyoming. "He said, 'I'll be ready.' I said, 'You're going to have to hang by your thumbs for 10 months.' These Democrats want it so bad, they are husting so bad, their bodies are twitching with wanting the White House."

Mr. Bush largely views his plight as the fault of others: a public that does not appreciate his accomplishments in foreign affairs, advisers who have given him bad advice, a press corps that favors Mr. Clinton and a charming political landscape.

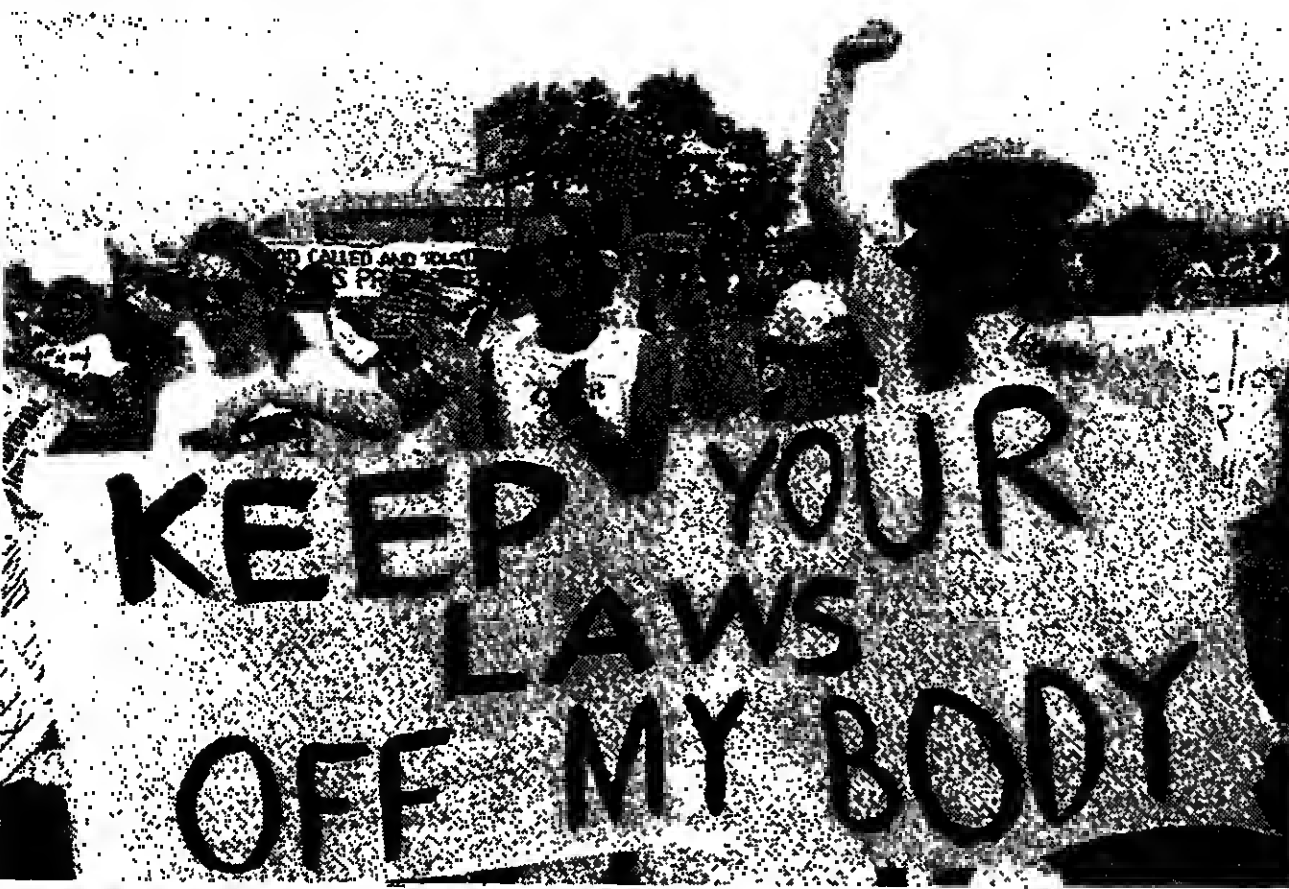
His closest advisers paint a picture of a president who regrets, again and again, that he went against his instincts and gave in to the advice of strategists agreeing to raise taxes as part of the 1990 budget deal; agreeing to do nothing to revive the economy after advisers told him last year that it would be a shallow recession; succumbing to his political team's panic after the upset of Dick Thornburgh, the Republican candidate who lost to Harris Wofford in the Pennsylvania Senate race in 1991; and allowing himself to be talked into resetting his trip to Japan in January into a domestic mission in search of "jobs, jobs, jobs."

But while boosters talk about how he has been ill served with advice, their explanations reopen the question: Why does he keep people around him long after he has been hurt by their advice, and why can't he simply follow his own best judgment, as he did during the Gulf War? Mr. Bush is the president, after all.

His advisers say the problem is that Mr. Bush hates dismissing people.

Senior aides say they need to reconstruct the president's image and the Reagan coalition during this week's convention and the autumn campaign so that it is no longer, as one Bush associate calls it, "a hideous mosaic that leaves all constituencies dissatisfied."

"We literally have to do in three and half months what the White House should have done in three and a half years," a top adviser said.



A MATTER OF CHOICE — Three demonstrators carrying a banner advocating freedom of choice for abortions at a rally in Houston as Republican organizers prepared for their national convention. The rally was organized by the National Organization for Women.

CONTRAST: What a Difference a Decade Makes, Republicans Discover

(Continued from page 1)

years and the Republican challenge becomes more clear.

The recession has gutted the appeal of Reaganism, the Supreme Court's decision to allow states to restrict abortion has made it clear to voters that additional Republican appointees to the court may remove constitutional protections; Mr. Bush's reversal of his "no new taxes" pledge and the debate on the budget in 1990 gave Democrats an opening to the middle class that they had not had through much of the 1980s, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union took away the Communist menace.

Only the Gulf War was an unqualified success for Mr. Bush and Republican policies. Voters have yet to deliver a clear verdict on the other underlying trend of the last two years, a growing disgust with gridlock in Washington.

Some Republicans suggest that the party's problems are mostly a function of Mr. Bush's current weakness, or point to Vice President Dan Quayle as a liability. Conservatives mutter privately that the party might be better served by a defeat that would let the debate about the future begin immediately.

But some outside the party say the troubles run deeper.

"The GOP coalition is fracturing," said Stan Greenberg, a poll taker for Mr. Clinton.

The single biggest reason is the weak economy.

"If the economy had stayed good, we wouldn't be sitting here talking about George Bush being behind," said Governor James Edgar of Illinois, a Republican. "The problem is, it's not getting better fast enough."

But the party's uncompromising position on abortion and Mr. Bush's broken tax pledge helped weaken, even divide, the Republican coalition, while the end of the Cold War robbed the party of the strong-on-defense glue that bonded its often conflicting constituencies.

The result is a coalition whose constituencies are casting about for alternatives. Two groups that helped bring success to Republicans in the 1980s — young voters and so-called Reagan Democrats — already appear ready to jump to the Democrats in significant numbers. There is also a risk of losing other voters, particularly upscale, suburban Republicans.

BUSH: In Many Ways, the Campaign Is Back Where It Was 4 Years Ago

(Continued from page 1)

Llewellyn L. Callaway Jr., 84, a former publisher of Newsweek, died Aug. 10 of an inoperable brain tumor in Napa, California.

Harry Allen, 80, Britain's official hangman, died Saturday in London. Mr. Allen performed 100 executions and assisted in 100 others. Britain abolished capital punishment for murder in 1965, a year after the last hanging, which nominally remains the maximum sentence for treason and piracy.

King Hussein on U.S. Visit

Reuters

AMMAN, Jordan — King Hussein of Jordan, 57, will leave for the United States on Monday for specialist treatment of a minor hemorrhage in his urinary tract, the royal court said on Sunday. A spokesman said the monarch's general condition was good.

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WORLD BRIEFS

Most UN Workers Flee Kabul War

KABUL (Reuters) — Most United Nations employees evacuated the Afghan capital Sunday, amid renewed rocket fire, after the Islamic coalition government said it had expelled Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the dissident Islamic Party leader responsible for the bombardment.

Only seven United Nations representatives remained in the city after three carloads drove north to escape the violent barrages of rocket fire, officials said.

President Burhanuddin Rabbani told diplomats he expelled Mr. Hekmatyar from the ruling coalition last week. The council, set up after the fall of the pro-Soviet government, is an uneasy alliance of mujahidin leaders.

Mobutu Vows to Help Winning Rival

KINSHASA, Zaire (Reuters) — President Mobutu Sese Seko has pledged cooperation with a rival, Etienne Tshisekedi, the opposition leader who was elected prime minister by the National Legislative Conference over the weekend, in guiding Zaire to multiparty democracy.

The president, still clinging to power after 27 years at the head of the former Belgian colony, said he was ready to help Mr. Tshisekedi lay the foundations of a "living and democratic" third republic. Observers said the statement suggested that Marshal Mobutu was not planning to oppose his adversary's accession to power.

Under an agreement struck earlier this year with the conference chairman, Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya, Marshal Mobutu has 48 hours to sign a presidential decree ratifying Mr. Tshisekedi's election. The appointment still stands if he refuses to. The conference elected Mr. Tshisekedi early on Saturday.

More Expulsions in Iran-U.K. Feud

TEHRAN (AFP) — Iran has "kept the upper hand" in its diplomatic dispute with London by deciding to expel two Britons and an Indian who works in the British Embassy, a Tehran newspaper said Sunday.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced the deportation orders on Saturday. According to the official Iranian press agency, IRNA, the three were involved in "illegal activities." The orders came a day after the British government said it was expelling an Iranian diplomat in London. The Abrar newspaper, which is close to Islamic hard-liners in Iran, termed the expulsions of the Indian and the Britons a "wise move" and said it would ensure that Iran "kept the upper hand" in the cycle of retaliatory deportations by the two countries that began last month.

23 Killed in Kashmir on Eve of Talks

SRINAGAR, India (AP) — In sporadic firing throughout Jammu-Kashmir state on the eve of talks between India and Pakistan, at least 23 people were killed, a government spokesman said Sunday.

Businesses and roads were closed in most places in the Kashmir Valley after a militant group called for a strike in protest against the two-day talks, which begin in New Delhi on Monday. The Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front said the talks between the foreign secretaries of the two countries would not solve the decade-old Muslim insurrection.

The sixth round of talks were called off in May after an Indian diplomat in Islamabad said he was kidnapped and beaten by Pakistani agents. Pakistan said the diplomat was caught receiving classified documents from a local contact. In retaliation, India expelled two Pakistani diplomats.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Russian Air Controller Strike Fails

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Striking Russian air traffic controllers returned to work because of mounting pressure from angry passengers, a senior union official said Sunday.

The controllers had closed several Russian airports on Saturday in their first serious attempt to strike since the collapse of the Soviet Union late last year. But they called off their protest on Saturday evening after closing fewer than half of Russia's 130 airports.

Many controllers had ignored the union's strike call, and military personnel were brought in to work in the control towers. Airlines said most domestic flights operated normally and few international flights were canceled or diverted.

An oil slick off Athens threatened the tourist resorts at Alimos and Voula beaches, officials said. The slick, about 2 kilometers long, came from a tanker. Port police were fighting it with detergents.

Kochshin will reduce U.S.-Luxembourg fares from Oct. 1. Round-trip fares from New York or Baltimore-Washington will be \$368 through March 21, except for Dec. 11 to 24, when the fare will be \$468. (Reuters)

Three popular beaches in the Los Angeles area — Venice Beach, Playa del Rey and one at Marina del Rey — were closed over the weekend after unsafe levels of coliform bacteria were found in a creek flowing into the ocean. It can cause diarrhea, nausea, headaches and jaundice. (AP)

The trekking of Mount Everest is going to be expensive now that Nepal has decided to require each team of climbers to pay a \$4,000 cleanliness fee. Starting next month, the fee will be in addition to the \$10,000 required for a permit for an expedition with up to nine members. There will be similar cleanliness fees for other peaks in the region. (Reuters)

Weekly air services between Moscow and Hong Kong began with the arrival in Hong Kong of an Aeroflot Airbus A-310 on Sunday. (AP)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Gabon, Indonesia, Venezuela.

TUESDAY: Afghanistan.

THURSDAY: Hungary. Sources: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

The Weather

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday



North America: Showers will occur in New York City Tuesday, the Bay Area Wednesday and Thursday. Atlanta will be warm and humid during the middle of the week with some sunshine. Rome will also be rather sunny and hot.

Europe: London will have dry weather or much of the time Tuesday and Wednesday and Paris will have plenty of sunshine on each of those days. Typical summer heat and sunshine will be the rule this week in Madrid. Rome will also be rather sunny and hot.

Asia: What is left of Typhoon Kent will dump heavy rains on Japan and maybe South Korea and the Philippines Wednesday. The remnants of Typhoon Storm Mark will flood portions of southeast China, perhaps including Shanghai Tuesday and Wednesday.

Table with columns for Region, City, High, Low, Wind, and other weather metrics.

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Logistic: Partly cloudy, e-windy, at times, hazy, fog, drizzle, rain, sleet, snow, etc. All times, forecasts and data provided by Accu-Weather, Inc. © 1992

Advertisement for THE REPORT every Saturday in the IHT. Includes contact information for Pacific Western University.

Advertisement for HEART: Medical Technology Undergoes Cost Surgery. Discusses the use of ultrasound technology in heart surgery.

Advertisement for Way from the Mustine. Includes contact information and a handwritten note 'John Co. 1.50'.

CAMPAIGN '92 / REPUBLICANS CONVENE

★ ELECTION NOTES ★

Elements of the Party Are Literally Far Apart

HOUSTON — For the first time ever, urban sprawl may be one of the defining experiences of a national political convention, when the Republican Party gathers here beginning this weekend.

Many delegates will travel as far as 30 miles (50 kilometers) through Houston's rush-hour traffic on highways with nicknames like "The Beast" to get from their hotels to the Astrodome, where the convention is being held.

Even party-going will require long treks to the vast prairie that stretches west of the city, and to Galveston Bay 40 miles southeast.

To prepare Houston for the Republicans, the city combed thousands of enthusiastic residents to sign on as volunteer workers, raised more than \$4 million to remake the Astrodome, a cavernous sports stadium, into a convention hall for one week, and persuaded the Houston Astros to embark on a 25-game road trip, the longest any major league baseball team has taken since teams began traveling by plane.

But in the end, those challenges may pale in comparison to the efforts it will take simply to get delegates from one part of the city to another. (NYT)

A Priority for Baker: Fixing the TV Image

HOUSTON — One of the immediate tasks facing James A. Baker 3d when he begins exerting influence over the Bush campaign is to repair a television advertising effort that Republicans inside and outside the campaign concede has been disappointing, if not disastrous.

Nearly all Republicans agree that the campaign squandered a critical opportunity in the weeks leading up to the convention by broadcasting commercials that were poorly executed and did little to advance a message of why people should vote for President George Bush.

People closely involved with the campaign said the advertising executives hired to produce the advertisements — which feature close-ups of Mr. Bush talking about the need for change and advocating a balanced-budget amendment — were respected in advertising circles but had limited political experience.

These people added that the advertising executives had failed to get clear direction from the top of the campaign.

Moreover, they say, the Bush campaign has no detailed advertising blueprint for the postconvention period to capitalize on whatever benefits the president will get from the gathering here. (NYT)

Clinton to Let Republicans Have the Limelight

PITTSBURG, California — Bill Clinton's frantic pace will slow significantly this week as the Republicans take center stage with their convention.

Mr. Clinton, the Democratic challenger, had originally planned to mount a vigorous counter campaign while the Republicans were meeting in Houston, with at least one media-attracting event a day that would draw off some of the attention. But Clinton strategists have now scaled back and plan to spend the bulk of the week at campaign headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas.

The campaign still has tentative plans for a few public events, including a birthday party for the governor and a news conference or two to respond to events at the Republican convention. But Mr. Clinton is saving his major efforts for the day after the convention, with addresses scheduled for Friday in Michigan. (NYT)



Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, at a stop in California where he was endorsed by the American Nurses Association.

A Demographic Look at the Delegates

HOUSTON — The Republican National Convention delegates who will nominate President George Bush to a second term are overwhelmingly white, male and middle-aged, according to a survey by The Associated Press.

The convention will be a party of lawyers — one delegate in eight is an attorney — and poets, miners, money managers and mothers.

These were among the findings from interviews with more than 2,000 of the 2,210 Republican delegates:

- Nearly 60 percent of the delegates are men. Nationally, men account for slightly less than half the population.
- Nine delegates out of 10 are white. In the nation as a whole, 8 out of 10 Americans are white.
- Fewer than one delegate in 20 is black, compared with one American in eight. Still, more blacks will attend this year's convention than ever before, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies said.
- One delegate in 28 is Hispanic, compared with one American in 11.
- Three delegates out of five are between 45 and 64, while one out of four adult Americans falls in that age range. (AP)

Quote-Unquote

President George Bush, in a pre-convention interview with Time magazine: "I am going to win. Nobody believes that, but it's the truth. I am very confident I am going to win."

Away From the Hustings

• A shooting spree at a Caribbean restaurant in Miami killed at least four people and injured up to 20 in an incident that may be related to Jamaican drug gangs, police said.

• Philip Morris Cos. Inc., the tobacco, beer and food conglomerate, donated more than \$17 million to schools, hospitals and cultural and charity groups last year, targeting minority organizations that might help defuse tax and anti-smoking bills, according to internal company documents.

• Admiral Robert J. Kelly, commander of the navy's Pacific Fleet, has relieved of command three of the five senior officers present in June when a group of fighter pilots staged an obscene skit that made disparaging references to Representative Patricia Schroeder, Democrat of Colorado.

• Car stealing at gaspump has become an increasing danger in Washington this year, with 245 thefts since the beginning of the year and four drivers killed for the sake of stealing their vehicles.

• The widow of a Texas state trooper is suing the rap singer Tupac Amaru Shakur, known as 2Pac, and Time Warner Inc., asserting that the singer's lyrics incited a teenager to kill her husband. The lyrics specifically deal with police harassing blacks and were on a cassette found in a vehicle driven by Ronald Howard, who was stopped April 11 by a Department of Public Safety trooper.

• About 10,000 people turned out for a graveside vigil at Elvis Presley's home, Graceland, to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the death of "the king of rock 'n' roll."

• The White House has created an interagency task force to implement President George Bush's "forests for the future" initiative, which aims to speed efforts to reach a global agreement on conserving forests. Reuters, WP, UPI, APF

Wanting It Both Ways: The President Squirms Over Abortion

By R. W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Richard Nixon's attorney general, John N. Mitchell, had a pat answer for people bewildered by the administration's policies: "Watch what we do, not what we say."

President George Bush and his strategists seem to want it both ways: They want some people to watch what they say and others to watch what they do.

Revealed in the polls, under attack for having shined on taxes,



Police officers surveying the upper levels of the Astrodome in Houston as preparations continued for the Republican convention.

NEWS ANALYSIS

they have helped push through language in the Republican Party platform that goes well beyond even the president's own strong anti-abortion position, in an effort to ensure the support of conservatives. But at the same time they have sent signals intended to make abortion-rights supporters feel comfortable voting for Mr. Bush.

Underlying all the maneuvering is a political reality deeply troubling for the Republicans. With the economy in low gear, the Reagan Democrats are moving back toward their ancestral party. The Republicans' only chance of holding them may lie in revising the social issues that attracted them in the first place.

But whereas racial questions and the Cold War tended to solidify the new Republican coalition assembled in the 1970s and 1980s, with the Reagan Democrats at its center, abortion tends to fracture it.

First Vice President Dan Quayle, then Mr. Bush himself, have said that they would support a daughter or granddaughter who decided to have an abortion after they had urged her not to.

Most striking of all, Barbara Bush described abortion as "a personal decision" that has no place in party platforms.

Mr. Bush's handlers regard Mrs. Bush as one of their main campaign assets, and using her to deliver a message on abortion undermined the seriousness of the problem it presents for the Republicans.

To complicate matters still further, the president's spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, said that Mr. Bush was pleased with the work of the platform committee.

"He supports their position," the spokesman said. "Mrs. Bush has her own attitudes about this."

Many observers here see the contradictions as a carefully calibrated electoral strategy.

"If just Quayle had said something, you could look at it as an accident," said David Keene of the American Conservative Union. "But with three comments like that in succession, you know it's a deliberate plan."

Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the Democratic nominee, said that the Republicans were "trying to have it both ways."

Many of the president's closest advisers are hampered by the warning of Lee Atwater, Bush's 1988 campaign manager, that there would be trouble for the Republicans if they created a tent big enough to accommodate all views on abortion. But they have found no effective way to heed his advice.

As approved by the drafting committee last week, the platform, essentially identical to 1988's abortion provision, declares that "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed," even in the circumstances in which the president favors allowing exceptions: pregnancies resulting from rape or incest.

The platform also calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. There is no doubt that the platform will be ratified at the convention, which begins in Houston on Monday.

But among Republican voters nationwide, New York Times/CBS News polls in June and July found that only 19 percent of Republican voters favor outlawing abortion, with 39 percent arguing that it should be generally available as it is now and 40 percent saying it should continue to be available but under stricter limits.

Democrats and independents, numerous polls have shown, are even less favorable to an absolute ban than Republicans.

Bush Spices Up Campaign With Hints of a Tax Cut

By E. J. Dionne Jr. and Dan Balz
Washington Post Service

HOUSTON — As the Republican National Convention prepares to open on Monday, President George Bush has offered a fresh repudiation of the 1990 tax increase that he signed and strongly signaled that he would offer new economic proposals, and possibly a tax cut, as part of his re-election campaign.

Abortion-rights supporters, meanwhile, are trying to force a floor debate on the issue, but party officials express confidence that they can avert a costly public battle.

In an interview with Time magazine to be published Monday, Mr. Bush said the 1990 tax increase was a political and economic mistake.

Asked if he would repeal the increase, as the new Republican Party platform proposes, Mr. Bush replied: "I think you've got to look very carefully at where you go from here. I'll be making some proposals regarding the economy that I'm not going to discuss now that I think will take care of it."

Administration and campaign officials said over the weekend that the shape and timing of the package were still being discussed. They said they were not certain whether Mr. Bush would use his acceptance speech on Thursday night to outline them or wait until after the convention. The outcome, they said, would depend heavily on the views of James A. Baker 3d, the incoming chief of staff.

In a taped interview on the ABC News program "This Week With David Brinkley," Mr. Bush said that the federal government taxed and spent too much.

"I don't think we're taxed too little," Mr. Bush said. "I think that we're spending too much and taxed too much."

Officials said Mr. Bush was looking at a range of ideas, including some outlined in a recent memorandum to the White House from Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp and other conservatives.

Mr. Kemp's memo called for a variety of steps, including an immediate, across-the-

board income tax reduction, indexation of capital gains taxes by executive order and the elimination of capital gains taxes on long-term investments, a domestic spending freeze and a requirement that any new tax increase be approved by a three-fifths vote of Congress.

"The question would be just how far to go down that road," an administration official said.

A top campaign official predicted that Mr. Bush would propose spending limitations, but he said it was not yet clear what the president would do about taxes. "Don't expect a gigantic overhaul of the economy," the official said.

[The Republican leader in the Senate, Bob Dole of Kansas, said Sunday that a tax cut would be "bad medicine" for the economy.

"Even if a tax cut were what the economy needs, he said, "it's not going to be enacted this year."

"It's easy to cut taxes," Mr. Dole said, but it would only add to the deficit without a spending freeze or reduction. "A tax cut by

THE BUSINESS OF ELEGANCE

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The Strategists Seek to Redefine Their Candidate

By Robin Toner
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — If George Bush's strategists have their way, Republicans assembling here for the convention will begin the redefinition of their candidate and of the choice at the heart of this election.

Republican officials struck a note of determined optimism as they readied the balloons and rituals for Monday's opening session, but the underlying anxiety was palpable.

"George Bush has said all along that his campaign began with this convention," said Craig Fuller, chairman of the convention. "We're going to make it this week."

Most Republican experts acknowledge that Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, has had considerable success so far in presenting this election as a stark choice in economically troubled times: Change versus the status quo, a Democratic presidency check-full of domestic policy proposals or a Republican presidency with little to say about the problems at home.

Bush strategists hope to use this convention, and the two months that follow, to persuade voters that they have another choice: A second Bush administration hot off its successes abroad, now ready to "target America" with a host of moderate to conservative reforms, or a return to the tired, failed, bureaucratic solutions of Democratic orthodoxy.

Mr. Bush was at work in Camp David on his acceptance speech for Thursday, an event that he used four years ago to mount a powerful comeback against Michael S. Dukakis.

This time, however, Mr. Bush enters the convention with a much greater deficit in the public opinion polls, nearly 20 percentage points in some surveys released last week, and with a far bleaker national mood.

For eight months, Bush strategists have struggled to retrofit Mr. Bush, a president consumed with foreign policy, for a country consumed with the economy and other domestic concerns.

Now, with the president fully focused on the campaign, with former Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d at his side, and with a scant 80 days before the election, they feel they have their best, most crucial shot.

Mr. Baker's speech last week announcing his return to the White House is widely viewed as, in the words of one Bush campaign official, "a Rand McNally" for the coming weeks.

It was an unapologetic account-

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U.S. Troops in Kenya to Start An Airlift to Starving Somalis

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NAIROBI — The U.S. Embassy said here Sunday that the first group of U.S. soldiers would arrive Monday to begin carrying out President George Bush's order for an emergency airlift of food to Somalia to alleviate a famine that threatens the lives of 1.5 million people.

The White House announced the airlift and several other U.S. actions Friday to deal with what it called "the growing suffering and mass death by starvation" in the East African nation, which had been a Cold War client of the United States and the former Soviet Union before it plunged into chaos and banditry early last year.

A 33-member U.S. military team is to arrive at Kenya's coastal town of Mombasa on Monday aboard a C-141 cargo plane to lay the groundwork for a U.S. relief operation that aims to deliver 145,000 tons of relief food.

The United States plans to base its operation in the arid, remote northeastern Kenyan town of Wajir, which has an Israeli-built airstrip capable of handling large cargo planes, said a U.S. Embassy spokesman, T.J. Dowling. Food will arrive at Mombasa, be ferried to Wajir by air and be flown into towns in Somalia's interior aboard C-130 Hercules cargo planes, he said. The first flight into Somalia is expected Aug. 24.

In addition to sending emergency relief food, the United States has contracted a U.S. firm based in Houston, called Intersect, to run a commercial operation into Somalia selling food at low cost to Somali traders in an effort to flood the market with food, Mr. Dowling said.

Until now, most U.S. food aid has been sent to the capital, Mogadishu; little reached the rest of the country.

Once on the ground in outlying areas, the U.S. food will be delivered by Somali and international relief agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, an official said.

The Red Cross has estimated that 1.5 million people, about one-fourth of Somalia's population, are facing starvation.

The White House said Mr. Bush had ordered that an additional 145,000 tons of U.S. food be made available for Somalia. The United States has contributed \$86 million to the relief effort there since early last year, with another contribution of \$10 million previously planned to be expended before Oct. 1, AID figures show.

A State Department official said the airlift would be able to deliver only a small portion of the food that is needed in Somalia. A more extensive supply of food from ships is under consideration within the administration and would involve overland convoys from seaports or Kenya.

James R. Kunder, AID's director of disaster assistance, who called the Somalia famine "the world's worst humanitarian crisis," said nearly every male in his teens or older was now armed. With no functioning government in the country and "a complete breakdown of civil order," Mr. Kunder said, "each negotiation for each food truck becomes a tortured exercise subject to renegotiation one kilometer down the road."

On Thursday, Mr. Bush authorized the U.S. military airlift of a UN-authorized guard force of 500 Pakistani troops to safeguard food deliveries. (AFP, WP, AP)

Aid Delay Criticized

Jane Perlez of The New York Times reported from Baidoa, Somalia:

The famine could have been mitigated if the UN had dispatched relief experts months ago instead of relying on a small crew of junior staff members in the country, a senior UN official has said.

"It's so bad because we've let things simmer without paying proper attention," said Trevor Page, newly appointed head of the World Food Program, in Somalia. "We've had inexperienced people who don't know what they are seeing, who don't know what the implications are, and didn't blow the whistle."

Mr. Page, who has worked for the UN food agency for 30 years, and who directed all emergency programs in the 1980s, said he had not seen such human suffering since the Biafra famine of the late 1960s and the Bangladesh crisis of 1971.

"But in those places," he said, "we were much better organized."

The World Food Program made its first airlift to Baidoa on Saturday on a C-130 packed with 17 tons of high-protein biscuits for more than 8,000 seriously malnourished children at four centers.

More than 20,000 hungry adults are served one meal a day here at outdoor kitchens by the Red Cross. Relief workers say children are dying daily in the feeding centers, and bodies are still seen strewn on the roads leading into Baidoa, even though Red Cross food deliveries started here last month.



Bosnian prisoners of the Serbs being marched back to a camp at Manjaca after they had spent the day working in farm fields. The camp holds 3,500.

CAMPs: Behind the Serbs' Camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina Is Evidence of a Careful Strategy

(Continued from page 1)

only a fraction of the camps, can account for a few hundred deaths.

Although the investigation did not substantiate assertions that the camps had once again brought genocide to the heart of Europe, it has turned up ample evidence of mistreatment, beatings and abuse involving thousands of prisoners.

Some have spoken of dozens of inmates being taken away, never to be seen again, and others have told of an incident in which more than 100 prisoners were machine-gunned when they rioted over a lack of water. Those accounts cannot be directly confirmed.

But their credibility is bolstered by the consistency of testimony from refugees and prisoners in different places who have had no chance to coordinate their stories. Taken together, the interviews lend credence to a tragedy that Bosnian officials publicly and privately tried to bring to the world's attention for more than two months.

More damaging evidence may still be hidden, for even as they let Western reporters into the region to visit the camps, Serbian officials were shutting prisoners out of

sight and dismantling the most notorious camps. Moreover, Western reporters and officials of international relief agencies have been allowed to visit only four Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia.

Aid officials say that Croats and Muslims are, to a lesser extent, setting up prison camps. As of last week, the International Committee of the Red Cross said it had visited 13 detention centers or prisoner-of-war camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina — 7 of them Croatian, 4 Serbian and 2 Muslim.

War erupted in Bosnia in early April. The Yugoslav Army and Serbian irregulars quickly overwhelmed the lightly armed defenders, who were predominantly Muslim but included Serbs and Croats.

The plan, it is evident now, was to seize enough territory to link the Serbs in Bosnia to the Serbs in Serbia and in neighboring Croatia. As many as half of Bosnia's 2 million Muslims live in the areas slated to be corridors between the various Serbian regions. They were to be expelled forever in "ethnic cleansing."

The accounts of the Serbian policy are so similar from so many parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that they seem to indicate the workings of an overall plan.

In village after village, it begins with local Serbs politely suggesting that their Muslim or Croatian neighbors hand over their weapons. That is generally followed by the cutoff of electricity and water and an ultimatum. Soon, Serbian soldiers, backed by armor, roll through the town, shooting a few people, dynamiting houses, and driving men, women and children first into fields and then into camps.

The detention centers played a major role in the Serbian strategy. The intention, it seems, is that a few days or weeks' incarceration in grim conditions will soften the civilians' desire to give up their property and flee their family homes forever. Indeed, thousands of Muslims have accepted release from the camps in exchange for their signatures on documents "voluntarily" relinquishing goods and property.

The story told by Safija Aljovic, a 26-year-old Muslim refugee in Croatia, was typical. She said she had lived in Vlasenica, an ethnically mixed town of 33,000 about 50

Western Leaders Avoid Using Term 'Death Camp'

New York Times Service

The Bosnian president has called them "death camps," but most Western leaders have avoided the term, or rejected it, when referring to the detention centers run by Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In generally accepted usage, a death camp is devoted to the factory-like, systematic killing of virtually all the prisoners sent there, and most historians reserve the phrase for some of the camps operated by Nazi Germany in occupied Poland. Perhaps the most notorious example was Birkenau, part of the Auschwitz complex, which held the gas chambers in which an estimated 1.5 million people were killed.

Neighboring camps in Auschwitz, as well as those elsewhere in German-occupied Europe, and Stalin's gulags in Siberia, were labor camps, where conditions were appalling and often deadly, but where an inmate had a chance of surviving.

The Bosnian government says that 17,000 people have been killed at the Serbian camps, refugees from Bosnia have spoken of mass executions in the camps, and a few inmates, interviewed by foreign reporters in recent days, have whispered of such killings when their guards have been out of earshot. These reports are unconfirmed.

kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Sarajevo, but her account was similar in nearly every detail to the experiences related by Muslims in northern Bosnia, hundreds of miles away.

She said Serbs entered Vlasenica on April 21 with armored personnel carriers and heavily armed soldiers. Mrs. Aljovic and other residents said that life was quiet but tense until mid-May, when Serbian irregulars blockaded the roads and began burning Muslim houses. When her husband went off to fight in the Muslim militia, she joined thousands at the bus station to leave, but soon realized it was hopeless.

She hid at the home of a friend for 10 days before Serbs arrested her early in June and put her on a bus for a camp in the nearby town of Susica. As the bus bumped along the country roads, the passengers were told to keep their heads down. Mrs. Aljovic said she peeked out the window anyway, and saw corpses on the roadside.

The camp was in a pine forest, in a warehouse that had once been used to store weapons by local territorial defense forces. Mrs. Aljovic said she was there for three days and three nights.

Every day, at 2:30 A.M., she said, 15 to 20 men were picked out at random and taken outside. "They said, 'You, you, you, come with me,'" she said. "We could hear cries and shots. None of them

criminals — was at Omarska, an iron-ore processing plant.

When Western journalists arrived at Omarska last week, only 175 men were still there. Attempts had been made to clean up the camp. Bunk beds were lined up in a room in which inmates said as many as 1,300 men had slept on concrete a few days before.

Food was distributed at Omarska intermittently, and the thinnest of the prisoners shown on television were at that camp. Beatings there were daily and witnesses said the men, some blood-soaked from their wounds, were crammed into buildings and into a cage used to store iron ore.

In nearby Prijedor, a ceramic-tile factory called Keraterm was used as a prison. A half-dozen witnesses who are now in another camp said last week that a riot by prisoners who had been given no water ended with the machine-gunning of dozens of inmates on or about the evening of June 23. Others were said to have died in the crush.

Five witnesses who had been in adjoining rooms described hearing what happened. One said he helped carry out corpses the next day and counted 130.

A 49-year-old Muslim from the village of Rakovani, which is near Prijedor, said he was in the room when the riot erupted. "They did not give us any water that night," he said. "The men went crazy. Our clothes were wet with sweat, even our underwear. We wanted them to open the windows."

He continued: "The men started singing a patriotic Serbian song trying to get the guards to open the windows. About 10 guys passed out. One of the Muslims broke open the door. Another jumped through the window. Some of the men were crushed and died of asphyxiation. The guards shot through the door."

Witnesses said that Serbs arrived at the villages around the city of Kozarac on May 24, 15 days after local Muslims ignored an order to hand in their weapons. One week later, Kozarac was overwhelmed in a battle that Serbs say left six or seven Serbian police officers dead.

The Serbs gave no figure for Muslim casualties, but one Muslim man who said prison camp guards later allowed him to collect corpses in the town, said 610 bodies were picked up.

After the Serbian attack, the people of Kozarac and the surrounding villages were herded into camps. One of the most brutal of those — said by Serbs to be reserved for Bosnian soldiers and

lim refugees from the fighting in surrounding towns and villages.

It is the last city in the eastern region of Bosnia resisting Serbian attacks. Other communities fell in rapid succession after war broke out in April.

Mr. Kessler said a place the size of Gorazde normally needs about 35 tons of food daily. Thus, the 46 tons delivered Saturday by the convoy has its limits.

Other besieged Muslim cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina include Tuzla north of Sarajevo, with a prewar population of 130,000, and the area around Bihać, in the northwest, which is said to be home to about 300,000 refugees.

The United States is outraged at Mr. Sudetic's expulsion," said Richard A. Boucher, spokesman for the State Department in Washington. "We are especially appalled because of statements by Serbian leaders that access to detention camps would be granted to international observers."

The journalist, Chuck Sudetic, who has reported for The New York Times from the area since 1990, returned Saturday to Belgrade, where he lives.

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Western Sahara War Draws to Close

By Yousef M. Ibrahim

New York Times Service

TUNIS — The defection of a leader of the Marxist Polisario Front guerrilla movement seems to signal the closing chapter of the 17-year war in Morocco's western desert.

Brahim Hakim, who served as foreign minister of the so-called Democratic Arab Sahara Republic, was the most senior of nearly 1,000 dissidents to abandon their challenge to the pro-Western monarchy of Morocco over the last decade as the group suffered a series of military setbacks.

At the time of Western Sahara's independence from Spain, Morocco and Mauritania had agreed to

divide the phosphate-rich region between them.

The Polisario Front resisted and proclaimed the region of about 100,000 people an independent republic, winning the backing of Algeria. Three years later Mauritania renounced claims on its half of the desert in favor of the Polisario Front, and Morocco claimed the entire region.

Over the last few years, as communism collapsed and Algeria and Libya, the Polisario Front's two main backers, faced increasing internal problems, the independence movement began to disintegrate.

Last week, after leaving Algeria to seek refuge in Morocco, where King Hassan II has rewarded other Polisario defectors with jobs and

financial compensation, Mr. Hakim said the struggle had become hopeless, and he called on his followers to quit.

"Any reflective person worried about the interests of the Saharan people has to understand the consequences of what's happening," Mr. Hakim said. "We're going in circles and everybody knows it."

At its height, the Polisario guerrilla forces numbered 15,000. As it stands now, their fighting forces are defeated.

Indicating that it believes the battle has been won, Morocco seems to be abandoning a United Nations plan to hold a referendum in Western Sahara to ask residents whether they want to split from Morocco.

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CONFLICT: UN Convoy Trapped by Mines in Bosnia

(Continued from page 1)

to guarantee the delivery of food and medicine to civilians.

Gorazde, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, had a prewar population of 37,000. It now shelters 70,000 to 100,000 hungry people, most of them Mus-

lim refugees from the fighting in surrounding towns and villages.

It is the last city in the eastern region of Bosnia resisting Serbian attacks. Other communities fell in rapid succession after war broke out in April.

Mr. Kessler said a place the size of Gorazde normally needs about

35 tons of food daily. Thus, the 46 tons delivered Saturday by the convoy has its limits.

Other besieged Muslim cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina include Tuzla north of Sarajevo, with a prewar population of 130,000, and the area around Bihać, in the northwest, which is said to be home to about 300,000 refugees.

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 - Casaba
 - Burr or Copland
 - Pitch
 - Golfer's hole
 - Therapeutic treatments
 - Suffix with expert
 - Heville players
 - Two-tab dinners for two
 - Arrow poison
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 - Spanish stream
 - Avoid wedding costs
 - Countertop catcher
 - Knockabouts
 - Cen
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 - From — Z
 - Concise
 - River to the Rhine
 - Muddle or mulligan
 - Oboe's cousin
 - Candlemaker's substance
 - Couples' cheapest purchase
 - Board game with marbles
 - V-shaped roof gutter
 - Affliction
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 - Macho matches
 - Our nearest star
 - More ancient

Solution to Puzzle of Aug. 14

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 - Spain's partner
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 - Board game with marbles
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 - Belief
 - Macho matches
 - Our nearest star
 - More ancient
 - Fairy
 - Noblewoman
 - Spiro and family
 - Monetary unit of Israel
 - Yugoslav city
 - One hundred: Comb. form
 - Spiry-finned fish
 - Help Me Make It — the Night
 - Ireland, to Gaels
 - Indigo
 - Bill's partner
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Members of a UN arms inspection team returning to Baghdad after spending three days in the field.

Moscow a Year Later: The Yeltsin Magic Is Gone

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Outside the prison, on a street quaintly named Sailors' Rest, everyone had a different opinion about the hard-line Communists who tried and failed a year ago to change the course of history. "They should be put on trial," said Rosa Evlyuyeva, a biologist in her late 40s, as she looked at the fortresslike building where leaders of the August 1991 coup attempt are incarcerated. "They wanted to create a dictatorship. Of course life has gotten more difficult for most of us, but some positive things have happened too. We feel freer now."

Anatoli Ivanov, a pensioner, said his opinion had been modified by the performance of President Boris N. Yeltsin.

"I was against the coup," he said, "but I am beginning to think that the putschists had a point. They wanted to prevent the disintegration of our country and the economy. Yeltsin has not fulfilled his promises."

Many political illusions have been shattered, and Mr. Yeltsin's popularity has slumped in the year that has followed the collapse of communism. It is now clear that the road to a free-market economy will be long and hard. But Russia has changed in one way that may profoundly affect the country's future: The inhabitants of this once-monolithic society no longer think and act in a uniform way.

As long as the Communists were in power, public opinion tended to be unanimous. Most people were afraid to express anything but support for the regime. When Mikhail S. Gorbachev inaugurated his policy of *glasnost*, or openness, there was an outpouring of grievances. The stage was set for a struggle between a state on the defensive and a society in a rebellious mood.

The days of unanimity are over. It is almost inconceivable that a candidate could again win 90 percent of the vote in a free election, as

ribles. "Meat is so expensive that we have become vegetarians. I used to believe in Yeltsin, but I don't anymore. Last August I went to the White House to defend it from the tanks, but I would not go there again."

Although public support for Mr. Yeltsin has dropped significantly, he retains a solid political base. Polls indicate that roughly a third of the people trust Mr. Yeltsin and believe his reforms will ultimately succeed. About the same number say they have benefited from his market-oriented policies.

The polls suggest that during the last year, Russia has become more pluralistic politically, economically and socially. The number of people living below the poverty line has increased substantially, but at the same time, the reforms have given many people an interest in seeing them continued.

Significantly, this group includes many former Communists who might otherwise have been expected to oppose the new order.

A recent study sponsored by the parliament showed one in three Russians taking advantage of new economic possibilities. Many families have been given small private plots where they can grow vegetables to help them survive the winter.

Others supplement their meager incomes by buying and selling food and consumer goods in the informal markets that have sprung up in Moscow and other major cities.

This economic free-for-all has its ugly side. The collapse of central authority has been accompanied by a huge increase in corruption at all levels of the bureaucracy. From government ministers down to traffic cops, state employees have de-

vised ways of making money out of their official position.

Despite mounting opposition to his economic reforms, Mr. Yeltsin still holds several strong cards. He remains the most popular politician in the country.

In an attempt to head off the nationalist opposition, he recently took steps to defend the interests of 25 million ethnic Russians who live in neighboring republics. He has shelved his promise to bring Russian troops home from Moldova, where they have been embroiled on the side of Russians against the ethnic Romanian majority, and he seems in no hurry to pull his troops out of the Baltic states.

Mr. Yeltsin benefits from the fact that he was popularly elected. Even those who dislike him believe that, as a symbol of state legitimacy, Mr. Yeltsin must be allowed to complete his term.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mr. Yeltsin did in 1989. By the same token, it is hard to imagine that any rival could amass enough support to force Mr. Yeltsin to step down as president before his term expires in 1996.

In the euphoria that followed defeat of the coup, between 80 percent and 90 percent of the Russian population expressed support for Mr. Yeltsin's courage in defying the coup leaders and standing in an armored car outside the White House, his office building, to rally the people. But falling living standards and rising prices have eroded the president's popularity.

"We can't buy toys or clothes for our kids," said Vassili Spak, a veteran of the Afghanistan war who is struggling to raise three children on a monthly income of 4,500

Black Sea Tourists Flee War

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SUKHUMI, Georgia — Frightened residents and vacationers fled the Black Sea resort of Sukhumi by ship Sunday to escape fighting between Georgians and Abkhazian separatists in which at least 20 people have died.

Georgian and Abkhazian leaders

pulled out their forces from the center of town, but sporadic gunfire rang out despite a cease-fire negotiated Saturday.

Trouble flared on Friday when Georgia sent 3,000 troops and tanks to hunt for the abductors of Interior Minister Roman Gventsadze and other officials seized three days earlier.

The Itar-Tass news agency said a Russian paratroop regiment had arrived to evacuate 1,700 vacationers from military spas.

Two Russian reserve officers were killed overnight in Sukhumi,

the Transcaucasian military headquarters in Tbilisi said Sunday.

Some tourists have been injured in clashes, according to Abkhazian authorities.

Three days of fighting have transformed Sukhumi into a battleground between Georgians and Abkhazian separatists.

Abkhazia, a region that grows tea, fruit and tobacco but is chiefly renowned for its beaches, in effect declared independence last month with a vote restoring its 1925 Constitution. (Reuters, AP)

IRAQ: A Confrontation on Inspection Rights Is Sought, U.S. Officials Say

(Continued from page 1)

tion Ministry, the UN would demand access to the Ministry of Defense, the heart of Iraq's national security apparatus, which was relocated to the Ministry of Petroleum building after the 1991 allied bombardment destroyed the original structure.

Again, any refusal by Iraqi officials to allow access to this building would lead to its destruction by U.S. aircraft, officials said, adding that the confrontation and bombing could continue through a list of nine targets.

Other U.S. officials said the Defense and Military Industrialization Ministries were selected not because American intelligence has identified specific documents hidden there, but because these buildings are so important to Mr. Saddam's overall survival that he is certain to refuse access.

One official complained that "we are going to stage an incident" that relates less to the importance of any documents that might be found in the targeted buildings than to the conviction that the steps will provoke a confrontation that will serve as the pretext for military action and "to help get the president re-elected."

Mr. Bush appeared to be calculating that he had a strong mandate from the allies to confront Iraq's broad challenge to UN authority this summer as well as a political green light from his Democratic challenger, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, to take a tougher line against Mr. Saddam.

Initially, Mr. Bush has selected a set of mili-

tary options that pose the least risk to U.S. military forces, the government official said, though the loss or capture of any American pilots could deal Mr. Bush a damaging political blow. The success of precision bombing strikes against highly defended Iraqi targets was among the strongest aspects of American military performance in the Gulf War.

And, though more risky steps might have to be considered if Mr. Bush exhausts a target list and finds Mr. Saddam still defiant, he can also hope that the humiliation of renewed bombing will embolden internal Iraqi dissidents who staged an unsuccessful coup against Mr. Saddam in late June.

As in earlier military operations threatened against Iraq, the critical element of surprise would be assured by uncertainty as to the exact timing of the raids against the ministry buildings.

It was not clear whether Saudi Arabia was willing to allow its bases to be used for any new bombing operations. The Saudis are known to be pushing for a much broader attack on Iraq "to finish the job," as one Saudi official recently put it, and may not be willing to publicly support more limited action that is carried out exclusively by U.S. forces.

Likewise, Britain and France, which strongly support punitive raids against Iraq, were not poised to participate, due to the narrow scope of the anticipated missions, but were expected to lead full support at the UN.

U.S. military planners have worked in recent months to refine plans to knock out Iraq's

reconstituted air defense capabilities. The defenses of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq had been beefed up in recent weeks with deployments of Patriot missile batteries and, in Kuwait, U.S. Marines.

A key element of the looming confrontation is the pretext under which UN inspectors will demand entry to military and Defense Ministry buildings under the cease-fire accord that ended the Gulf War. The terms of the accord compelled Iraq to allow UN inspectors to search out and destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as well as the laboratories, factories, and archives that supported them.

But Iraq maintains that the protection of its national sovereignty demands that the inspections are not turned into espionage missions, the true goal of which, allegedly, is to gather information to topple Mr. Saddam by cracking the ring of secrecy that has kept him alive and, thus far, immune to revolt and coup attempts.

A senior Iraqi official ruled out further inspections in Iraqi ministry buildings in a statement this month that the White House regarded as a serious challenge both to the UN and to Mr. Bush's capacity to lead his coalition partners once again in military action.

While in theory the cease-fire accord would allow UN inspectors to search Mr. Saddam's personal offices, "safe houses" and security centers for documents relating to his weapons programs, UN officials have focused most of their attention on the actual armaments factories and depots where the weapons were manufactured and stored.

SHOWDOWN: Bush's Denial

(Continued from page 1)

criticize Mr. Bush and said that "politics has to stop at the water's edge."

He added that "Saddam Hussein has to know that the American people are unified."

Returning from Seattle on Sunday, Mr. Cheney did not deny the military aspects of the Times report, but he said:

"This suggestion that I saw in The New York Times this morning that somehow we were controlling UN inspections in order to create a confrontation to coincide with the opening of the convention in Houston and would then respond with military force, I think is totally irresponsible."

The report quoted an unidentified U.S. official as saying the showdown would serve as the pretext for military action "to help get the president re-elected."

He did not deny that a key inspection was imminent, saying only that the United States did not control UN inspections.

A Bush administration official said privately that Washington had been in contact with Britain, France and other Gulf War allies about plans to take action "swiftly and decisively" if Iraq rebuffs a

new UN request to inspect facilities believed to house evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.

In Baghdad, Nikolai Smidovich, the head of a UN arms team, said Sunday that inspections would resume on Monday. He refused to comment on the report that the inspectors would provoke a confrontation with Iraq on Monday.

In a related development, NBC News reported Sunday that the U.S. Air Force had secretly moved six warplane staff to Saudi Arabia so it could launch air strikes throughout Iraq if necessary.

Their mission was to prepare to shoot down Iraqi aircraft flying against Shiite rebels in the southern third of Iraq, senior military sources told NBC.

"Nothing is imminent," a Pentagon official told NBC. "We just want to be ready within 24 hours the next time Iraq diddles us and violates the UN resolutions."

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

Peres Plans Visit to Moscow

Reuters

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel will visit Russia this week to discuss Middle East peace talks.



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Herald Tribune

Now the Republicans

In a Different World

The Republicans are not happy campers this vacation season. They have about them an air almost of puzzlement as they convene in Houston. For three presidential elections in a row — the Reagan victories of 1980 and 1984, the Bush triumph in 1988 — they used the same familiar combination of appeals to the electorate with enormous success. Yet this time around it is not so clear that those appeals are working or even can be made to work.

less is more. So they profess, anyway. That has always been a congenial view in America, including among some of the greatest beneficiaries of government largesse, and it was never more so than during the giddy Reagan years. But in harder times, which these are, people tend to demand as well that government be a font of help. That is as true of the executives in the defense and other hurting industries as it is of the 10 million unemployed or the tenth of the population on food stamps. This is not the most propitious moment in the business cycle for those who would shrink the government.

An Uphill Campaign

Rewind to 1988 and humid New Orleans. George Bush trails a Democratic governor. His prospects are uncertain; the shadow of Ronald Reagan looms large. Mr. Bush makes a surprisingly good speech, jumps ahead, and stays ahead during a relentless, modifying campaign.

not be riding his bus down America's blue highways if he had let the polls decide his fate. In late May, with Mr. Bush still comfortably ahead, USA Today awarded Mr. Clinton one state — his own, with six electoral votes. By mid-July, according to the American Research Group, Mr. Clinton seemed a cinch. He led in 31 states. Mr. Bush led in only one, with three electoral votes. So the pendulum swings. Mr. Clinton never tires of warning that it could easily swing back.

Peru Needs Democracy

Peru's Shining Path guerrillas are a political nightmare come true, fanatics who think like Cambodia's murderous Khmer Rouge and who finance their brutality with "taxes" exacted from drug traffickers. Despite President Alberto Fujimori's recent seizure of dictatorial powers, Shining Path terror steadily paralyzes more and more of Lima, home of one of every three Peruvians.

to 20,000 activists. On the other side are the 120,000 soldiers of the regular armed forces plus 200,000 peasants in village militias. Yet the territory and population under rebel control steadily increase. Fujimori alone does not explain this. The nation's political system is in the alienation of millions of Peruvians from their armed forces and government.

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Bosnia: Limiting Damage Is Better Than Nothing

WASHINGTON — It is a standing rebuke to the foreign policy gang in Washington that it was so slow to identify the peculiar difficulties of dealing with post-World War national convulsions that do not meet the standard definition of cross-border aggression — in Yugoslavia, post-Khwaif Iraq and Somalia, for instance.

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld
There are still other ways to evade these relentless and painful issues. America could decide or simply declare that the outcome is not all that important to it. Americans could practice castrating themselves to live with a much higher degree of international restlessness and disorder than heralds of a new order had expected.

flows from a conscientious effort to calculate the true risks and costs of what might be the several stages of escalation. But a second part simply comes from a strategy employed by skeptics to discourage intervention.

America: Baker and Clinton Ask Good Questions

WASHINGTON — Only by integrating foreign, domestic and economic policies can America reverse its agonizing slow growth and deepening social divisions in the next four years. That imperative was at the core of speeches delivered by Jim Baker and Bill Clinton within four hours of each other on Thursday.

By Jim Hoagland
Mr. Baker's migration from Foggy Bottom to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is a physical metaphor for the transformation that he and the Democratic nominee, who spoke in Los Angeles, agreed the next administration must accomplish. That is to turn the overwhelming military and political power America exercises on the world stage into new economic strength and political resolve that will break the sense of gridlock at home.

is no longer a poor cousin to old school diplomacy. This raises the question raised by Mr. Baker's call for Mr. Bush to "target America" now. If it is that easy, why hasn't it been done before?

Bush Needs the Republican Mainstream

HOUSTON — Deafening calls for the election of a Republican Congress are certain to be a rhetorical favorite at the party's convention. Stressing the intraparty opposition to civil and women's rights; support of government-written school prayer and the undermining of public schools.

By Ken Ruberg
Not well publicized, but certain to be exploited by the Democrats, is the platform's indifference and hostility toward public education. Perhaps expecting divine intervention, platform writers failed to mention the need to finance improvements in public education but took great care to promote religious and private schools and home schooling.

Republicans and independents has been well reported. Not well publicized, but certain to be exploited by the Democrats, is the platform's indifference and hostility toward public education.

Evidence That Israel Can Shift

By Anthony Lewis
NEW YORK — In a column last spring (H/T, March 2), I told the story of a Palestinian professor, Khalil Shikaki, whom Israel had forbidden to return from the United States to his home and family in the West Bank. The story has now taken an encouraging turn.

Last month Mr. Shikaki returned to the West Bank. His movements are restricted. He is not allowed to go to Gaza, where his father lives. He was refused permission to go to Tel Aviv to be a lecturer by Dennis Ross, a top assistant to Secretary of State James Baker.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's new prime minister, plainly sees the advantage of such an agreement. It would get Israel out of the burdensome and corrupting business of ordering the daily lives of 1.5 million Palestinians — of saying who may live where, who may build a house and so on.

peace, which it is not, the Pontifical programme is too incomplete to serve as a basis for discussion. The impression forced upon the Allied mind is that Benedict XV has been blinded by Germanic pressure to the seriousness of the pledges of the Allies and their determination to exclude all idea of a patched-up, unstable peace.

1942: Split in India?

BOMBAY — [From our New York edition:] The leader of India's 80,000,000 Moslems, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, declared today (Aug. 16) that if the British, by seeking peace with the Hindu-dominated All-India Congress party, sacrificed the Moslems' interests, he would end his "co-operation." Jinnah, president of the All-India Moslem League, which has remained aloof from Gandhi's passive resistance campaign said, "If the British now seek peace with the Congress, we could consider that a betrayal of the Moslems who have been holding out a helping hand to Britain."

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1892: Gladstone's Secret
LONDON — No one yet knows whether Lord Rosebery is or is not to be the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. There is some screw loose, and until Mr. Gladstone has laid his plans before the Queen, it will be impossible to say whether it has been set straight. Although a professed Democrat in some things, Mr. Gladstone is a thorough old Conservative in regard to forms and ceremonies.

1917: No to Pope's Peace
PARIS — The text of the Pope's appeal for peace has not been made public. It presents no tangible solution of the multiplex problems of the war. Even were the time ripe for

Handwritten text: 1520

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BUSINESS

LEICA M6. A MASTERPIECE OF ART. Leica

CAPITAL MARKETS

Where Can an Investor Stash a Fistful of Dollars?

By Carl Gewirtz
International investors are awash in dollars. An eye-popping \$23.5 billion worth of Eurodollar bonds reaches maturity during the current quarter...

A flood of Eurodollar bonds is coming to maturity just as the currency plumbs the depths. For European investors, the timing of this cash flow is disastrous...

See EURO BONDS, Page 9

1 Million U.K. Homes Worth Less Than Loans

LONDON — About 1 million mortgages in Britain, or one in every 10, exceed the value of the homes that were purchased with the loans...

See HOMES, Page 9

A Case for Shoring Up the Chinese Wall

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
LONDON — The suspension of one of Britain's top stock researchers because of information in an upcoming book he authored has called into question how independent brokerage houses are from their clients...

Regulators Put New Pressure on Citicorp

By Michael Quint
NEW YORK — Regulators have forced Citicorp to sign a memorandum of understanding, a formal acknowledgment that the company's problems are great enough to require special attention...

Beijing Cuts Hold On CITIC

Investment Firm Can Make Moves Without Review
BEIJING — One of China's biggest investment companies, China International Trust & Investment Corp., has been given broad autonomy to borrow and invest without central-government permission...

THE TRIB INDEX
International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, composed of 230 internationally investable stocks from 20 countries...

Toronto Notebook

Canada Drives Home a Bargain on Its Car Exports to U.S.

In the course of concluding their free-trade pact with Mexico, Clyde H. Farnsworth of The New York Times reported, negotiators for Canada and the United States have quietly resolved one of the most explosive bilateral disputes...

No Bargain for Mulroney

President George Bush is looking for a boost to his re-election campaign from a North American trade pact, but the deal could be the issue that sinks Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada...

Pact Has U.S. Farmers On Both Sides of Fence

WASHINGTON — For the American consumer, the biggest effect of the North American Free Trade Agreement will take place in the neighborhood supermarket, where fresh fruits and vegetables will become more plentiful...

Canadian Debt a Bargain

The weak shape of the Canadian economy is making the government's bonds seem attractive for the near term, Bloomberg Business News reported.

Taiwan Reserves Rise To Record \$87 Billion

TAIPEI — Investment income and the weakening value of the U.S. dollar helped boost Taiwan's foreign-currency reserves, already the largest in the world...

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for City, Rate, and % Change. Includes sub-sections for Other Dollar Values and Forward Rates.

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WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL BOND PRICES

Provided by Credit Suisse First Boston Limited, London, Tel: 322 40 00. Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors. Aug. 14

Dollar Straights

Table of Dollar Straights bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Governments/Supranationals

Table of Government and Supranational bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Banks & Finance

Table of Banks and Finance bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Global Corporates

Table of Global Corporate bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

High Yielding Debt

Table of High Yielding Debt bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Pounds

Table of Pound-denominated bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Dollars

Table of Dollar-denominated bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

Deutsche Marks

Table of Deutsche Mark-denominated bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

ECUs

Table of ECU-denominated bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Cn, Maturity, and Price.

INVESTING COMPANIES

Table of Investing Companies, including columns for Name, Bid, Ask, and other metrics.

MUTUAL FUNDS

Table of Mutual Funds, including columns for Name, Bid, Ask, and other metrics.

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Table of Mutual Funds, including columns for Name, Bid, Ask, and other metrics.

INVESTING COMPANIES

Table of Investing Companies, including columns for Name, Bid, Ask, and other metrics.

Handwritten text in Arabic script: 'سكنا في الجاهل'

International Bond

BOND MARKET

MUTUAL FUNDS

(Continued on next page)

New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Laurence Devielles

Table with columns: Issuer, Amount (millions), Mat., Coup. %, Price, and Terms. Lists various international bond issues from floating rate notes to equity-linked bonds.

Investors Unnerved by Idea of Tax Cuts

Market Watching FOMC for Signs of Cut in Interest Rates

NEW YORK — The jittery bond market, which sold off last week because of fears of oversupply and fiscally induced inflation, will be cautiously watching this week's Republican Party convention for any talk of lower taxes, market analysts said.

every \$1,000 bond face value in recent weeks. Brian Keyser, economist with CRT Government Securities, said many market watchers were anticipating easing signals from the Fed this week, but he does not expect a change in policy as he considers short-end Treasury yields a little too low already.

African Group Expects Pretoria To Join Soon

WINDHOEK, Namibia — Ten southern African states that expect competitive trade relations with a powerful post-apartheid South Africa will on Monday transform their voluntary alliance into a formal development community.

Kazakhstan Backs the Ruble Zone

MOSCOW — The battered ruble has received a vote of confidence, as Ukraine's top banker said he favored using the currency and the president of Kazakhstan pledged full support for the ruble zone.

Earnings Fall in Korean Industry

SEOUL — South Korean manufacturing companies suffered a significant fall in profits during the first six months of 1992 because of higher costs and sagging exports, according to performance results published Saturday.

EUROBONDS: Where to Stash a Fistful of Dollars?

(Continued from first finance page) With the short-term reference rate currently at 3.5 percent, the guaranteed minimum of 5 percent looks compelling. Since the start of this month \$2 billion worth of collateral floated have hit the market. Blinded by the higher coupon, investors ignore why the American and European banks issuing the paper are being so generous.

HOMES: Negative Equity

(Continued from first finance page) summer savings in 1991. About one in five households face shortfalls above £10,000. If house prices continue slumping, the total value of the losses could reach £10.5 billion by the end of next year.

WALL: When Interests Conflict

(Continued from first finance page) Mr. Smith said in the radio interview that it appeared investors could not rely on the independence of research they receive from brokers, who do not wish to offend powerful corporate clients.

Last Week's Markets

Table showing stock indices, money rates, and other market data for the previous week.

MUTUAL FUNDS

Table listing various mutual funds with columns for fund name, bid/ask prices, and other financial details.

Advertisement for National Westminster Bank, U.S. \$500,000, Primary Capital FRNs (Series 'B').

Advertisement for BusinessWeek International, featuring topics like British Airways' Global Push and Euro Disney.

Prices Key To German Rate Cut

FRANKFURT — The Bundesbank will cut interest rates only when inflation and monetary growth fall into the central bank's target ranges, a director of the institution said in a report published Sunday.

Euromarkets At a Glance

Table showing Eurobond yields for various countries and maturities.

Weekly Sales

Table showing weekly sales figures for various companies and products.

Labor Rates

Table showing labor rates for different regions and industries.

Advertisement for CORTEXA INTERNATIONAL, 18A, Boulevard Royal, Luxembourg.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

BCCI-Bangladesh Gets New Identity

DHAKA, Bangladesh (UPI) — The Bangladesh operation of the collapsed Bank of Credit & Commerce International was put back on its feet Sunday under new ownership and a new name.

A Great Mall Is Planned in Shanghai

BEIJING (AFP) — China Resources of Hong Kong and Shanghai's Huilian Building signed a \$100 million contract to build a huge shopping mall in Shanghai, the Xinhua news agency reported Sunday.

Parretti's Legacy: Fresh Loss at MGM

CARLETT CITY, California (UPI) — Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc., continuing to bleed red ink and blame former owner Giancarlo Parretti for it, reported Friday a second-quarter net loss of \$59 million, compared with a loss of \$59.3 million in the year-ago quarter.

For the Record

The Indonesian economy grew 6.6 percent amid the worldwide recession of 1991, due largely to a nearly 25 percent gain in its nonoil and gas commodity exports, President Suharto said Saturday.

WORLD STOCKS IN REVIEW

Amsterdam

Prices were rocked at midweek by disappointing company results, but the CBS all-share index rallied to close at 196.40 points, down only 0.60 from the previous week.

Poor half-year results from Hoogovens, KLM and Fokker contributed to the selling pressure, while a number of other companies indicated that short-term prospects were bleak.

KLM fell 4 guilders to 27.30 guilders, Fokker was down 2.70 to 22.60 and Hoogovens dropped 2.20 guilders to 37.90.

Kampan & Co. brokers predicted that with the dollar and interest rates still heading down, a market turnaround was unlikely.

Frankfurt

Investors remained cautious amid doubts over the global economy and the ratification of the Maastricht treaty on European union. The DAX index fell 61.70 points, or 3.8 percent, to 1,547.80 points.

WestLB bank said there was no clear sign of global recovery. Uncertainty over the French referendum on the European Community's economic and monetary union also encouraged prudence, analysts said.

No dividend was paid on a further drop in the DAX, even below 1,500 points. Chemicals suffered least, with BASF down 4.50 Deutsche marks to 220.50 DM, Bayer off 7.80 DM to 262.50, and Hoechst dropping 2.80 DM to 237.80.

Hong Kong

The Hang Seng Index shed 28.34 points, to close at 5,882.59. Average daily turnover rose 34 percent, to 2.58 billion Hong Kong dollars, boosted mainly by the placement on Friday of 2.7 billion dollars in Hutchison Whampoa shares.

Mediocre interim results from Hang Seng Bank dampened sentiment, with the blue chip losing 2.50 dollars to close at \$3.50 dollars.

Hutchison slipped 10 cents, to 15.80, while Cheung Kong, which owns about 40 percent of the company, was unchanged at 23.70.

London

Prices tumbled to an 18-month low, but rallied after news of slowing inflation in Britain and Germany.

After falling below 2,300 during the day on Tuesday and Thursday, the Financial Times-Stock Exchange 100-share index rebounded, climbing 6.7 points or 0.3 percent for the week to close Friday at 2,356.8 points.

Analysts viewed the Friday inflation figures as a precursor to a possible cut in interest rates. The rebound was also aided by news of a fractional increase in industrial and manufacturing production.

Milan

Prices fell to a low for the year reflecting low confidence in the government. The MIB index shed 44 points or 5.85 percent during the week, closing on Friday at 773 points.

Tokyo

Share prices continued to fall amid concern over the economy, with the Nikkei index dropping below the psychologically important 15,000 barrier.

The Nikkei closed Friday at 14,820.25 yen, down 698.02 yen, or 4.5 percent, for the week, after closing on Thursday at 14,768.17 yen, its lowest since March 1986. The wider-based Tokyo Stock Price Index shed 58.10 points, to 1,123.13.

The decline in the average was mainly due to the drop to a record low of Nippon Telegraph & Telephone, which fell 310 points, or 6.5 percent, to 4,780.

There was mounting pessimism that the 15,000-yen level might become a ceiling for the Nikkei. But some analysts said the fact that Hitachi had finished the week at 745 yen, up 5 yen on the previous week, might indicate that the market had hit bottom. Hitachi often has led rebounds from major market slumps, they noted.

Singapore

Stocks took a beating as foreign fund managers stayed away and continued to downrate the market. The Straits Times industrial index lost a hefty 96.54 points during the week, closing at 1,337.95 on Friday.

Keppel closed at 5.40 Singapore dollars on Friday, down 55 cents from the week before. Sime Darby ended the week at 2.34 dollars, down 7 cents.

Paris

Prices hit their lowest level of the year as analysts lowered their estimates for 1992 amid company reports that indicated a recovery was not under way.

The CAC-40 index closed at 1,753.46 points, down 24.81 points for the week. But it could have been worse; analysts were concerned on Thursday that the index might hit the critical 1,710 barrier, which they said could have brought a further drop of as much as 100 points. Still, the index has dropped more than 17 percent from its high on May 11.

Zurich

Investors remained defensive, with membership figures and continuing instability in Yugoslavia giving rise to concern. The Swiss Performance Index lost 18.96 points during the week, closing at 1,119.86.

Credit Suisse lost 75 to close at 1,690 and Banque Populaire Suisse dropped 10 points to finish at 810. Sandoz fell 20 points to 2,850 and Glaxo Geigy finished at 656, down 9 points.

Crop View Improves In Russia

MOSCOW — The Russian grain harvest is speeding up because of a decree raising the state procurement price and is expected to be 2 to 4 percent larger than earlier predicted, the Inter-Tass news agency reported. The harvest now is expected to be about 98 million tons, the agency said. The chairman of the Russian grain committee, Leonid Chelmskiy, had predicted it would be 94 million to 96 million tons. But harvesting has picked up following a decree that raised the state grain procurement price to an average of 12,000 rubles (\$75) per ton, Inter-Tass said. Inter-Tass said other measures were planned to boost the harvest. These include a ban on private sales until farms have completed required state deliveries. (AP, Reuters)

China to Raise Imports

China sees a need to increase grain imports in coming years to meet a domestic shortfall that is expected to hit about 28 million tons by 1995, according to an article in the China Daily. Reuters reported from Beijing.

NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, Aug. 14.

Table with columns: Sales, High, Low, Close, Net Change. Lists various OTC stocks and their performance for the week ending August 14.

Table with columns: Sales, High, Low, Close, Net Change. Lists various international stocks and their performance.

Table with columns: Sales, High, Low, Close, Net Change. Lists various international stocks and their performance.

Table with columns: Sales, High, Low, Close, Net Change. Lists various international stocks and their performance.

Table with columns: Sales, High, Low, Close, Net Change. Lists various international stocks and their performance.

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MONDAY SPORTS AUTO RACING

Mansell, Second, Wins His First World Title

BUDAPEST — After a 13-year wait, Britain's Nigel Mansell won his first Formula One world championship Sunday by finishing second at the Hungarian Grand Prix.

With fewer than 20 laps to go in a race marked with spins and pit stops, Mansell charged his Williams-Renault from seventh place to finish 40.199 seconds behind the pole-sitter Ayrton Senna.

The second place gave Mansell six world championship points and an unassailable total of 92 in the drivers' table with five races to go. "When I went across the line, I didn't know where the back was," said a weary but jubilant Mansell. "I can just smile, it's unbelievable... truly a wonderful feeling."

Mansell, 39, has been the world championship runner up three times in his 13-year Formula One career. He finished second to Senna last year, second to Alain Prost of France in 1986 and second to Brazilian Nelson Piquet a year later.

Senna drove a copy-book race. He sprinted around Mansell into second place on the first lap and inherited the lead when the Briton's Italian teammate Riccardo Patrese spun off in the 39th lap and later retired with engine problems.

The Brazilian covered the 77 laps round the twisty 3.968-kilometer (2.466 mile) Hungaroring circuit in one hour, 46 minutes, 19.216 seconds.

Senna's Austrian teammate, Gerhard Berger,

was third, ahead of Mika Hakkinen of Finland in a Lotus-Ford and the Benetton-Ford of Briton Martin Brundle.

Italian Ivan Capelli placed sixth in his scarlet Ferrari, winning one point in the Italian team's 500th Grand Prix race.

Starting from pole position on his 235th Grand Prix, Patrese led for 39 laps before he slid off the track. Senna took over, capitalizing on soft tires that gripped well, and held off a charging Mansell for 16 laps.

When Patrese — Mansell's only challenger for the title before Sunday's race with a total of 40 points — rolled into the pits with smoke billowing from his engine, Mansell throttled back and Senna increased his lead.

Both made pit stops, but Senna's, taking only 6.33 seconds, was faster. The Brazilian kept the lead and Mansell dropped back to seventh, but then clawed back through the field to second.

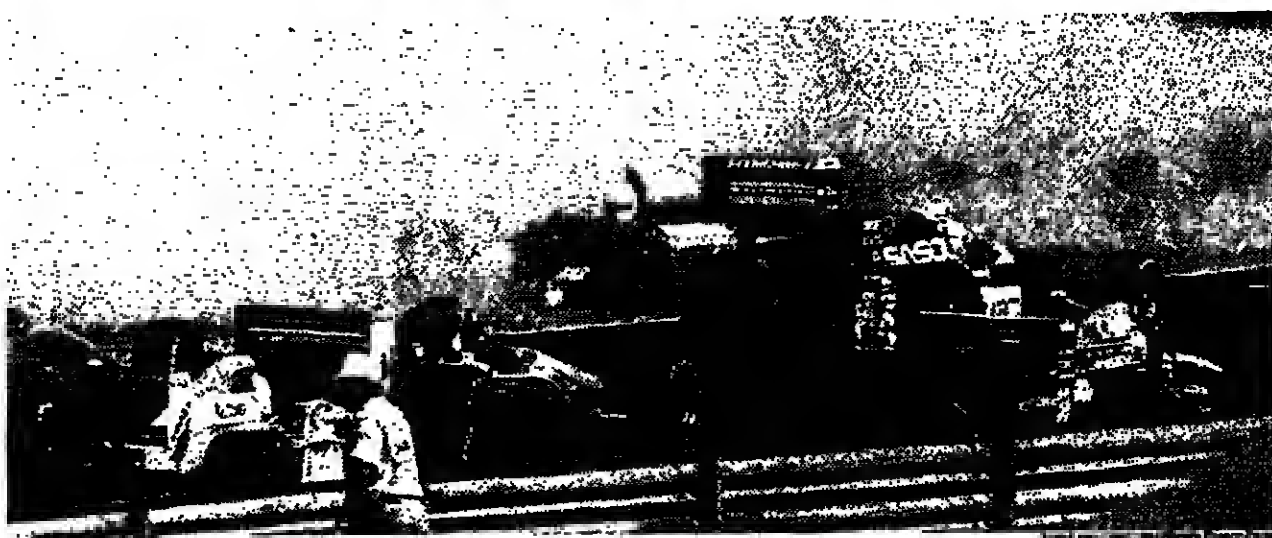
As Mansell took the checkered flag, ecstatic British fans stormed across the track waving Union Jack flags to greet the new champion.

A banner reading "the red five is 1992 world champion" was strung over the grandstand fencing. Mansell's car is marked with a distinctive red number five.

Mansell grinned as he climbed wearily onto the victory rostrum and clung hands with Senna, before embracing both the Brazilian and Berger and spraying his fans with champagne.

"All my fans, my country, this is all for you," Briton said after the race. "I keep pinching myself, asking is it for real."

After missing the title three times, Mansell



Nigel Mansell was, for once, No. 1 after finishing second. Gabriele Tarquini of Italy never finished, spinning into the sand just after the start of the race at the Hungaroring.

said he and the Williams team, as dominant this season as the red-and-white McLarens were for the past two, had "all our luck in one year."

Speaking to reporters later, both Senna and Berger praised Mansell's tenacity over the years.

The new champion's wife Rosanna said she had spent the race nervously "waking miles" across the track and timing monitors to check Mansell's progress.

Despite a ruling by racing authorities that Sunday "power funks" were not allowed in his team's race, Mansell smashed Belgian Bertrand Gachot's 1991 lap record of one minute 21.547 seconds.

The Briton clocked a fastest lap of 1:18.308, equivalent to an average speed of 182.418 kilometers an hour (113.349 miles per hour).

Senna said, "I think I am driving as well as ever in my career and the sort of performance today is the product of a lot of experience."

"I did not expect to win and know that, to have a chance, I would have to get into the lead at the start," he said. "As it was, I made up one place at the first corner and tried to stay with Riccardo for a single lap."

"Then I realized there was no way and so I concentrated on running the race within my own limitations. Then Riccardo dropped out and I pushed harder, but towards the end I had to make a pit stop for tires. The vibrations were so bad I could hardly see the track."

Senna added that he knew how Mansell would be feeling. "It is a special feeling and I hope he enjoys it," the Brazilian said.

(AP, Reuters)

Lendl, Sampras Gain ATP Final

MASON, Ohio — Pete Sampras and Ivan Lendl bulled their way into the finals of the \$1.4 million ATP Championship with surprisingly easy straight-set victories.

Sampras breezed over second-seeded Stefan Edberg, 6-2, 6-3. Lendl also had an easy time, with a 6-3, 6-2 victory over Michael Chang.

Sampras, the No. 3 seed and the third-ranked player in the world, was at the top of his game for Edberg.

"I was really pumped up and motivated to beat him," Sampras said.

Edberg, ranked second in the world, had been playing well all week but didn't get untracked on Saturday.

"I got off to a bad start and never really caught up," Edberg said. "He picked up some really good shots, even some half-volleys — he was kicking them for winners."

In Manhattan Beach, California, top-seeded Monica Seles overpowered a sluggish No. 3-seed Andrei Panatta, 6-3, 6-2, to advance to the finals of the \$330,000 Virginia Slims of Los Angeles tournament.

Seles, the second-seeded Martina Navratilova, who overcame a second-set rally by Martina Maleva-Fragniere, 6-4, 7-6 (7-5).

Seles, who won a bronze medal in singles and a silver in doubles in the Olympics, committed 42 unforced errors to 15 for Seles.

"It was too close to the Olympics," she said, complaining of lingering jet lag.

Seles, who led the sixth game of the second set 15-40, but then committed three backhand errors to lose the advantage. Seles, who is 10-0 lifetime against Sanchez Vicario, went on to win that game and the next two.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

Major League Standings

| Team | W | L | Pct. | GB |
|------------------------|----|----|------|-------|
| American League | | | | |
| East Division | | | | |
| Toronto | 48 | 46 | .509 | — |
| Baltimore | 48 | 51 | .484 | 2 1/2 |
| Seattle | 47 | 49 | .489 | 3 1/2 |
| Detroit | 46 | 52 | .468 | 4 1/2 |
| Minnesota | 44 | 54 | .445 | 6 1/2 |
| New York | 43 | 55 | .438 | 7 1/2 |
| Cleveland | 42 | 56 | .429 | 8 1/2 |
| West Division | | | | |
| Oakland | 47 | 46 | .505 | — |
| Los Angeles | 46 | 47 | .495 | 1 1/2 |
| Chicago | 45 | 48 | .483 | 2 1/2 |
| Texas | 44 | 49 | .471 | 3 1/2 |
| San Francisco | 43 | 50 | .460 | 4 1/2 |
| Kansas City | 42 | 51 | .449 | 5 1/2 |
| Seattle | 41 | 52 | .438 | 6 1/2 |
| National League | | | | |
| East Division | | | | |
| Pittsburgh | 47 | 47 | .500 | — |
| Atlanta | 46 | 48 | .487 | 1 1/2 |
| Cincinnati | 45 | 49 | .479 | 2 1/2 |
| San Diego | 44 | 50 | .468 | 3 1/2 |
| San Francisco | 43 | 51 | .457 | 4 1/2 |
| Houston | 42 | 52 | .446 | 5 1/2 |
| Los Angeles | 41 | 53 | .435 | 6 1/2 |
| West Division | | | | |
| St. Louis | 47 | 47 | .500 | — |
| Chicago | 46 | 48 | .487 | 1 1/2 |
| Cleveland | 45 | 49 | .476 | 2 1/2 |
| Philadelphia | 44 | 50 | .465 | 3 1/2 |
| Montreal | 43 | 51 | .454 | 4 1/2 |
| San Diego | 42 | 52 | .443 | 5 1/2 |
| Los Angeles | 41 | 53 | .432 | 6 1/2 |

Friday's Line Scores

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------------|----|---|-------|
| American League | | | |
| Boston | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Milwaukee | 11 | 0 | 1.000 |
| National League | | | |
| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

Saturday's Line Scores

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------------|----|---|-------|
| American League | | | |
| Oakland | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Seattle | 8 | 0 | 1.000 |
| National League | | | |
| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

Japanese Baseball

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------|---|---|-------|
| Yokohama | 5 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Hiroshima | 4 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Osaka | 3 | 0 | 1.000 |

Football

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|----------------------|----|---|-------|
| NFL | | | |
| San Diego | 25 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 24 | 0 | 1.000 |
| International | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

Football

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|----------------------|----|---|-------|
| NFL | | | |
| San Diego | 25 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 24 | 0 | 1.000 |
| International | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

Football

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|----------------------|----|---|-------|
| NFL | | | |
| San Diego | 25 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 24 | 0 | 1.000 |
| International | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

SOCCER

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

SOCCER

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

SOCCER

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
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| World Cup | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

SOCCER

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
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| World Cup | | | |
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SOCCER

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|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

SOCCER

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| Germany | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| France | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

CRICKET

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|------------------|----|---|-------|
| World Cup | | | |
| India | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| West Indies | 9 | 0 | 1.000 |

TRANSACTIONS

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------------|----|---|-------|
| Baseball | | | |
| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

TRANSACTIONS

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------------|----|---|-------|
| Baseball | | | |
| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

TRANSACTIONS

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------------|----|---|-------|
| Baseball | | | |
| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

TRANSACTIONS

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------------|----|---|-------|
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| San Francisco | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |

TRANSACTIONS

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| St. Louis | 10 | 0 | 1.000 |
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LANGUAGE

Fiddle-Dee-Dee on Warrior Talk

By Maureen Dowd

NEW YORK — Just as if Woody Allen had popped up in the middle of the movie "Patton," agonizing about sex, death, family and shrinks, so the 1992 presidential campaign has suddenly become a linguistic clash between the new touchy-feely Democrats and the old blood-and-guts Republicans.

Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the first baby-boomer ticket, have shared intimacies about their search for the inner man. They have used the sort of feel-better jargon never before heard in the manly arena of politics. They talk about confronting problems, connecting with people, shattering emotional barriers, embracing the pain and working it out with counseling and self-examination.

Personally I am thrilled that the Democrats are providing a respite from the war talk that usually drives politics. When Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot were filling the air with verbal gun smoke, I was as impatient as Scarlett O'Hara in the movie just before the Twelve Oaks barbecue: "Fiddle-dee-dee. War. War. War. This war talk's spoiling all the fun at every party this spring. I get so bored I could scream. Besides, there isn't going to be any war. . . . If either of you boys says war once again, I'll go in the house and slam the door."

After all, the Year of the Woman should have sprinkled with fresh imagery from the female viewpoint. But a lot of political language stems from battle, starting with campaign and standard-bearer. Hatcher Man comes from those who cleared the woods for George Washington's troops; left wing comes from that flank of a military front, and hundred days comes from Napoleon's final campaign.

Patrick Cadell, the Democratic consultant in self-imposed exile in California, is holding on to his cache of linguistic hand grenades. He was always roaring about Armageddon for his party, obsessively playing the soundtrack of "Patton" and occasionally donning camouflage pants and a "Right Stuff" cap to plot invasions in a military-strategy board game called Axis and Allies.

Edward J. Rollins, Ross Perot's short-lived campaign adviser, claimed that despite all the Texas billionaire's macho talk, he failed because he never really took the war-politics analogy seriously enough. As Rollins wrote in Newsweek: "Early on I said to Perot: 'Ross, you have to understand this is war; no one's going to get murdered, but don't think it's not every bit as tough. The weapons are lethal in a different way.'"

During the primaries, Buchanan attracted men and scared off women with his talk of rallying the Buchanan brigades to rout King George's armies and send them into retreat. He described New Hampshire as Lexington and Concord, where the Buchanan Minutemen chased off the Bush redcoats, and he invoked the Civil War's bloodiest battle when he called the California primary "the Antietam of the Republican Party."

Perot loved everything about the military except his time in it. His tough talk — he once said that running for president was not as hard as being a soldier and leaving part of your body on the battlefield — made many women skittish.

George Bush, whose re-election message consists largely of bragging about how he kicked Saddam Hussein's you-know-what out of Kuwait, follows what Evan Thomas, a Newsweek editor and writer, calls "the Code of the WASP Warrior." The code is summed up in Sir Henry Newbolt's turn-of-the-century poem about British colonial armies triumphing over Hottentots and fuzzy-wuzzies:

The Gullies' jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke;
The river of Death has brimmed a name;
And England's far, and Honor a name;
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

Vice President Dan Quayle has said he was influenced by the description of Napoleon's military technique in Charles de Gaulle's discourse on war, "The Edge of the Sword," a book given to him by Richard Nixon, another ambitious and battle-scarred vice president. This is Napoleon's strong suit: "To grasp the situation, to adapt himself to it, and to exploit it to his own advantage."

Lee Atwater, the mastermind of the 1988 Bush campaign, carried three books in his briefcase: "On War," by Karl von Clausewitz; "The Prince," by Niccolò Machiavelli, and "The Art of War," by Sun Tzu, an ancient Chinese warrior-philosopher.

Some of Master Sun's pearls, translated by Thomas Cleary:

"For the impact of armed forces to be like stones thrown on eggs is a matter of emptiness and fullness."

"If birds are gathered there, the place has been vacated."

"When they kill their horses for meat, it means that the soldiers have no food."

"When fire is set upwind, do not attack downwind."

Perot found inspiration in "Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun," by Wess Roberts, a California psychologist. Roberts uses the unprepossessing, tyrannical little king of the Huns, who cooked his meat by keeping it under his saddle, as a metaphor for the management advice he offers in his book, which is written with a fourth-century pillage-and-plunder flavor.

"When on the hunt, be prepared to hunt. Take your best bow and lance. Wear the clothing that will serve you well as you chase the wild beasts in the forest."

"If it is necessary to appear as ferocious savages in order to project courage and victorious purpose, then do it well. Huns and chieftains should wear the most barbaric of all furs, robes and other apparel. Such appearance further serves to destroy the will of the enemy."

"We must never fail to analyze the past. No bleached bone of a battle-lust Hun must go unmentioned as we prepare for the future by laying aside the ill-conceived and uncalculated strategies of our past."

For those unaccustomed to thinking about politics in the arcane language of barbarians, the advice from Attila may sound bizarre at first. But read it a couple of times and you'll find it's not so different from the sort of intentionally Delphic and blindingly obvious advice for which modern political consultants get paid tons of money.

In the immortal words of a young woman who was around for Antietam and who was more cunning about strategy than any old general: Fiddle-dee-dee.

New York Times Service

Maureen Dowd is a White House correspondent for The New York Times. William Safire is on vacation.

Lee Miller's War: The Before and After

LONDON — "I implore you to believe this is true," Lee Miller cabled Audrey Hepburn, editor of British Vogue. The subject was Dachau, which Miller photographed the day after it was liberated on April 29, 1945. Shortly before, she had photographed Buchenwald and both stories appeared, to her credit, in Vogue representing, in the words of Miller's son Antony Penrose, "an achievement in fashion and fashion publishing which has never been repeated."

It was suitably surreal, Penrose wrote: "The grim skeletal corpses of Buchenwald are separated by a few thick-



George Hoyningen-Huene glamour shot of Miller, c. 1930, and defiant SS guard at Buchenwald, by Miller.

MARY BLUME

nesses of paper from delightful rags to be prepared by beautiful women in sumptuous gowns." Miller had become part of the Surrealist circle in Paris in 1929 when she accosted Man Ray on his stairway and announced that she was his new pupil. He told her that he did not take pupils and was leaving on holiday. I know, I'm going with you, Miller replied, and she did. They lived, faithfully, together for three years. Miller tended to take what she wanted: Once when she made too bold a play for another beauty's husband, the woman took out her gold cigarette lighter and set fire to Lee's feather boa. She starred in Cocteau's film "Blood of a Poet" and was, like the other Surrealist women, extremely good-looking and tough.

Born in 1907 in Poughkeepsie, New York, Miller had been sexually molested by a family friend at the age of 7, contracting a venereal disease, and was photographed nude by her father when she was 21. She modeled for Steichen and Arnold Genthe in New York and in Paris for Hoyningen-Huene and Horst. She was said to have the most beautiful navel in Paris. Cecil Beaton, whom she loathed, said that with her cropped fair hair she "looked like a sun-kissed good boy from the Apollon Way."

While married to a rich Egyptian, Aziz Eloufi Bey, Miller moved in with Roland Penrose, a minor English Surrealist painter and major collector whom she finally married in 1947. She was reclusive, hard-drinking and bold and it was natural that, in 1944, she should decide to go to war for Vogue. The results are on view in "Lee Miller's War," appropriately at the ICA (Institute for Contemporary Arts), which Penrose founded as what he called an adult playground in 1947.

With her sidekick, Life photographer David E. Scherman, Miller left London for Normandy six weeks after D-Day to take pictures of field hospitals which her astonished editor published in two double-page spreads, along with 10,000 words of Miller's text. Elsewhere in the issue there was a glamorous pre-Normandy portrait by Miller of Margot Fonteyne.

In Normandy, Scherman wrote, Miller underwent a transformation: Her faddism and hypochondria vanished, as did her refined tastes in food and drink; she wore filthy fatigues like everyone else and drank from a jerican in which available booze of every sort had been poured. "She had been bitten," Scherman wrote. "All she wanted was to get back to the action."

She did, covering campaigns in St. Malo — one of the first places where napalm was used — and Alsace and Germany, Hungary and Romania. After the war she did not discuss her experiences and claimed that her pictures, which her son, disappointed by accident after her death in 1977, had been destroyed.

She went to war in a helmet with a special visor through which she could photograph — Penrose painted the eye-

slits — and at the start was shielded by aesthetism: "A company was filing out of St. Malo, ready to go into action," she wrote, "grenades hanging on their laps like Carrier clips, menacing bunches of death."

Her pictures are cool and distanced, often consciously surreal. If they lack the emotional immediacy we have come to expect from war photographers, her approach served her well in the Dachau and Buchenwald pictures: The horror is all the worse for having been seen through a chill and poised lens.

Before the concentration camps, of which the outside world knew so little, she was sent to liberated Paris in 1944. She used her trained fashion eye to describe the turbans women wore when leaving the hairdressers (there was no electricity for hair dryers) and how thick platform shoes had changed their gait: "Instead of the bouncing buttocks and mincing steps of 'prewar' there is a hot-foot long stride, picking up the whole foot at once."

She photographed celebrities, exploded when Edna Woolman Chase of American Vogue demanded showier fashion pictures with social beauties ("Edna should be told that maybe there is a war on!"), and on visiting her old friend Picasso showed that traces of Surrealist lassitude remained: "I ate one of the tomatoes from the flower pot vine which was his favorite model. It was a bit moldy but I like the idea of eating a work of art."

Then came Buchenwald and Dachau. The subjects are sickeningly familiar now but were shockingly new at the time. Vogue's headline read: BELIEVE THEM.

Miller unflinchingly photographed inmates stacked in bunks, some of whom died while she was adjusting her lens, and guards who had been beaten up by their prisoners: One, despite a big shiner on his right eye, still gives a defiant Nazi salute. A carefully composed picture shows

three pairs of legs in striped pajamas behind a neat pile of rubble. On closer view the rubble is calcinated bones. She photographed the skeletal corpses and also the plump angora rabbits and big-bottomed horses that belonged to camp officials.

When General Patton forced German civilians to visit the camps they claimed to know nothing of the photographed them in their dimly, impressively lit past the whipping post to which a dummy, instead of a live prisoner, had been strapped. She photographed the corpses of Nazis who had killed themselves, and the train which led to Dachau, so long that it stretched into well-populated suburbs whose inhabitants must have smelled the stench and heard the cries.

The woman who had gone to war in a hand-tailored uniform of her own design and who in the 1930s had brought in a masticated breast to photograph for a Surrealist table setting came to know true horror all too well. Writing from Aachen she described climbing onto debris to photograph the cathedral and causing an avalanche on which she skidded to the street: "As the tightly packed earth surface opened, foot loam smells swelled forth. Half-buried, putrefying flesh had turned over in its grave and clung to my hands, elbows and bottom."

The battlefield seemed relatively cleaner and more decent. When the war ended, the took fewer and fewer pictures and then stopped. Like many people who have seen terrible things, she was never sure they would not happen again.

"Lee Miller's War" is on view to Aug. 30. A book of the same title is on sale, as well as her son's biography, "The Lives of Lee Miller," a poster entitled "Prisoners Awaiting Distribution of Bread, Dachau, 1945," and Lee Miller T-shirts in 100 percent cotton, available for £1.95 in XL size.

PERSONALS

MAY THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS be adored, glorified, loved and praised throughout the world, now and forever. Sacred Heart of Jesus, pray for us, Saint Asia, worker of miracles, pray for us, Saint John, help of the hopeless, pray for us, Amen. Say this prayer nine times a day, by the death of your prayer will be answered. It has never been known to fail. Publication sent by permission. AG/71.

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